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LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

A TURKISH SPY,

Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiscovered at

PARIS;

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople of the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe, and discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts, (especially of that of France) from the Year 1637 to the Year 1682.

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Written originally in Arabic, Translated into Italian, and from thence into English.

VOLUME FIRST.

A NEW EDITION.

[illegible] DON:

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GENERAL PREFACE.

BESIDES the Prefaces already affixed to each ſingle volume of theſe Letters, which contain particular anſwers to the objections and cavils of ſome, with ſolutions of the ſcruples and doubts made by others; as likewiſe critical explanations of paſſages, ſeeming obſcure to all; in the Engliſh tranſlation of our Spy, it is thought neceſſary to prefix ſomething more by way of general preface, not ſo much regarding the tranſlation, as the ſeeming original abruptneſs and obſcurity of our Arabian author himſelf in ſome places, with his frequent change of ſubjects, his digreſſions and ſtartings from matter of fact, the then preſent wars, tranſactions, and intrigues of Chriſtian courts, ſtates, and kingdoms (for which he was chiefly ſent to Paris), and his immethodical falling upon philoſophical, divine, and moral contemplations, and even to ancient obſolete hiſtories, which ſome think altogether foreign to his buſineſs.

That the ingenuous reader, therefore, may not henceforward be left in the dark as to any thing ex-

hibited in the whole ſeries of theſe letters, it will not be amiſs to begin regularly at the firſt volume, and ſay ſomething of the wars in which our Spy found ſeveral nations of Europe engaged at his firſt coming to Paris, eſpecially France, Spain, and the Empire.

After the barbarous regicide of Henry the Great, the name and malice of what they call the Holy League, ſeemed to be quite extinguiſhed, as if that deplorable tragedy had fully ſatisfied the cruel and bitter zeal of the factious catholics. France ſeemed to enjoy a ſerene quiet and halcyon-days from the year 1610 to 1614; fortune ſmiling on the greener years of Lewis XIII. as loath to diſturb and ruffle the tender paſſions of the royal child with the harſh ſound of war, foreſeeing that he would quickly have enough of that, even in his early youth, before he could write man, unleſs he had been a king.

During this minority of his, the guardianſhip of him, and the regency of the kingdom, were committed to the queen-mother, Mary de Medicis, daughter to the Great Duke of Tuſcany. This princeſs had brought into France a favourite of hers, a Florentine by birth and extraction, whom ſhe exalted afterwards to great dignities, procuring him to be made a marſhal of the kingdom, and to be inveſted with ſo exorbitant a power at the court, that the princes of the blood, with the other grandees of France, began to look with an ill eye on him, being quite diſguſted at the too portentous authority of a ſtranger.

Therefore, in the year 1614, they openly ſhowed

their diſcontent, by taking up arms, raiſing ſeditious tumults and inſurrections, which laſted till the year 1616, at which time the king was married to Ann the daughter of Philip III. King of Spain, whilſt an interchangeable match was made between the young Prince of Spain, ſon to the ſaid Philip, and Elizabeth, ſiſter to Lewis XIII. Thus, theſe two potent monarchs bound themſelves to each other (as the world judged), in ſtricter obligations of peace and friendſhip, by the ſacred bonds of matrimony, and a reciprocal union of their blood; which was alſo accompanied with the bleſſing of an univerſal domeſtic tranquillity, and ceſſation from civil broils in France; Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Conde, and the reſt of the confederate princes being reconciled, in all outward appearance, to the king their ſovereign. But, on a ſudden, new jealouſies ariſing, about the beginning of September 1616, the Prince of Conde was ſeized and clapped up, and declarations of war publiſhed againſt the princes, his confederates. Yet all this was huſhed up again, and a peace made the following year, upon the death of the Marſhal d'Ancre, the before-mentioned Florentine, and favourite of the queen, who was killed in the Louvre, by the king's own command; in that, when they were going to arreſt him, he offered to draw his ſword in his defence.

The fall of this Italian ſeemed now to pacify all malcontents; but the queen taking it to heart, retired from the court, which gave occaſion to the king to aſſume the public adminiſtration of the go-

vernment into his own hands; and a while after, he releaſed the Prince of Conde from his confinement.

Much about the ſame time, there broke forth civil wars among the Griſons upon the account of religion; for the Catholics and Proteſtants continually vexed one another with mutual injuries, and engaged the kings of France and Spain in their quarrel; ſo that the arms of theſe two kingdoms were employed againſt each other, on a foreign account, for many years.

In the mean while, the Duke of Luines ſucceeding the Marſhal d'Ancres in the prime miniſtry of France, the princes and nobles conceived as great a diſlike and hatred of his power at the court, as they had before done of the others; ſo that, in ſhort, they took up arms alſo, and gave the king no ſmall trouble, who was at the ſame time moleſted by the factious attempts of the queen-mother's party. But by the aſſiſtance and counſel of the Prince of Conde, who now proved faithful and ſerviceable to him, he ſuppreſſed all his domeſtic enemies, and reſtored quietneſs in France; the queen-mother alſo and her party being reconciled to him.

Things remained in this poſture till the Duke of Rohan and his brother Monſieur Soubize raiſed new commotions in the kingdom. The Rochellers at the ſame time took up arms in defence of their religion, and called in the Engliſh to their aſſiſtance, who ſent a navy of an hundred and twenty ſhips, under the command of the Duke of Buckingham, but all to no effect; for, though the Engliſh landed in the iſle of Rhee, after many ſharp conflicts yet they were

ſoon expelled again, and a long ſiege laid to Rochelle, under the conduct of Cardinal Richlieu and the Marſhal de Schomberg, who reduced that city to the king's obedience, razed the walls, and left it as open as a village, that it might be a terror and example to others, teaching them rather to confide in the clemency and faith of their ſovereign, than to try the force of his arms. This was done in the year 1628; from which time the rebels, as it were by ſtrife, returned to their duty, ſeeking who ſhould be moſt forward in teſtifying their obedience to the king, and their repentance for what was paſt. Thus was peace once more reſtored to France at home, that the king might have the more leiſure to proſecute the war in Italy, whither he led his victorious army, taking many towns in his way to Cazal, which he haſtened to relieve, it being at this time beſieged by Spinola the Spaniſh general. In a word, he came within ſight of the very walls, and ſo near to the Spaniards, that both armies were ready to engage, when Mazarini (afterwards made cardinal) ran between, and induced them to terms of peace.

A while after this, a peace was concluded between the Emperor and the Duke of Mantua, the latter having the poſſeſſion of Mantua, Montſerrat, and other places, confirmed to him by an imperial decree; but as if fate had ordained that the arms of France ſhould not ruſt or be long idle, but that they ſhould be conſtantly kept in exerciſe by equal viciſſitudes of foreign and domeſtic wars, no ſooner was this peace concluded, which gave ſome reſpite to the French abroad, when new ſtirs aroſe at home, occaſioned

firſt through ſome miſunderſtandings between the queen-mother and Cardinal Richlieu, which afterwards were improved into open hatred and enmity, the queen-mother having drawn into her party the Duke of Orleans, brother to the king, a man who had conceived an irreconcileable averſion for that potent miniſter; till at length things coming to an inevitable rupture at the court, the queen-mother fled privately into Flanders, and the Duke of Orleans into Lorrain, from whence he afterwards followed her into Flanders alſo.

The next year he ruſhed into Dauphiny with a confuſed army, and the Duke of Montmorency came over to his ſide, who being governor of that province, brought great forces with him, and gave new courage to the invaders, inſomuch as they entered battle with the Mareſchal de Schomberg general of the king's army. The fight was ſhort and bloody, wherein the rebels were routed, having loſt many of their principal leaders on the ſpot, whilſt the Duke of Montmorency was taken priſoner, and afterwards beheaded by ſentence of the Parliament. This concluded the year 1632, but the Duke of Orleans did not return to his duty till the year 1634, from which time the kingdom of France was ſtill, by various turns, kept in active poſture, either of defence or offence, partly by domeſtic factions, and partly by foreign engagements of allies or enemies, even to the time of the Turkiſh Spy's arrival at Paris, which was in the year 1637.

I paſs over theſe three laſt years before his coming to Paris, with the more brevity, that there may be

room to ſay ſomething of the other wars in which Europe had all along been equally engaged, from the murder of Henry IV. or thereabouts, to the ſame year 1637, and this ſhall be done as concifely as may be, that ſo the reader may have the clearer idea and underſtanding of what our Spy entertains him with in the courſe of his firſt letters, to the year 1643, when Lewis XIV. the preſent King of France began his reign, whoſe life and actions gave an immediate turn to all affairs, both in his own dominions and the other nations of Europe.

In the year 1610, the town of Gulick, in the Netherlands, was ſurrendered to Prince Maurice of Naſſau, after many princes had claimed it upon the death of Duke John William, who left no heirs of his body; and Prince Maurice himſelf was obliged to the French for their aid in obtaining it. About the ſame time, the Moors were expelled out of Spain, to the number of nine hundred thouſand, of which our Spy takes notice in ſome of his letters.

In the year 1611, Sigiſmund, King of Poland, took Smolenſko, a very ſtrong town of the Muſcovites, after two years ſiege, whoſe ſon Uladiſlaus, the Muſcovites choſe for their duke or czar, of which, repenting in a little time, there broke forth a bloody war in thoſe parts.

The ſame year died Charles the King of Swedeland, being ſucceeded by his ſon Guſtavus, though ſome endeavoured to transfer the crown to Sigiſmund King of Poland.

In the year 1612, died Rodolph emperor of Germany, who was ſucceeded by Matthias his brother,

A while after this, the Venetians made war upon Ferdinand Archduke of Auſtria, ſon of the Archduke Charles, who was brother to the Emperor Maximilian II. This war laſted to the year 1618, at which time it was finiſhed.

In the mean while, the war between the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy broke forth about the principality of Montferrat; it was occaſioned by the death of Francis, Duke of Mantua, who leaving no male iſſue behind him, Cardinal Ferdinand, his brother, under the protection of the King of Spain, took poſſeſſion of that principality, which he defended by arms, againſt Charles Philibert Duke of Savoy. This war alſo laſted to the year 1618, at which time it was ended by the powerful intervention of the French king.

About this time there broke out a moſt cruel war in Germany on this occaſion. Ferdinand, Archduke of Auſtria and King of Bohemia, received alſo from the Emperor Matthias the kingdom of Hungary on certain conditions, which conditions ſeeming diſadvantageous to the Proteſtants, they made an inſurrection, firſt at Prague in Bohemia, where they killed the magiſtrates, and then they were ſoon followed by all Bohemia and the adjoining provinces, who took up arms againſt the king, under the conduct of Erneſt Mansfelt and other grandees.

In the year 1619, Matthias the emperor died, whom Ferdinand, the aforeſaid King of Bohemia and Hungary ſucceeding, proſecuted the war very vigorouſly againſt the rebels. In the mean while they choſe for King of Bohemia, Frederick, Elector Palatine of the

Rhine, who had married the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to James I. King of England; he, with his new queen, were the ſame year ſolemnly crowned at Prague; and the year following, their forces being routed by the emperor, they themſelves were forced to flee into Holland, where they led a private life ever afterwards. In the mean while, Bohemia, with the other revolting provinces, returned to their obedience; and this was thought to be a leading card to the religious war, which about the ſame time was raiſed among the Griſons, of which mention is made above; nay, and the ſame is ſuppoſed to have had influence on the commotions raiſed by the Huguenots inhabiting the foot of the Pyrenees, againſt whom Lewis XII. made a ſucceſsful expedition in the year 1620, reducing the greateſt part of that province to their duty and allegiance, though the following year gave him ſome freſh trouble, and the loſs of many great nobles, among whom were the Duke of Mayne governor of Guienne, and the Duke of Luines firſt miniſter of ſtate.

About the ſame time died Pope Paul V. being ſucceeded by Gregory XV. who ſat in the chair but two years and a few months, when dying, he left it to Urban III.

In the year 1624, Breda was beſieged by Spinola the Spaniſh general, and ſurrendered in 1625. In the mean while, Count Mansfelt inveſted Germany with frequent excurſions, being got at the head of a bold army of freebooters; but at length he was defeated by Tilly, a brave and expert general on the Imperial ſide; then he was forced to flee for ſanctu-

ary into Tranſylvania, and from thence going to Venice, he died in the year 1626.

All theſe things our Spy glances at in his letters, but with ſome abruptneſs and obſcurity, which renders him ſcarcely intelligible in thoſe places, to ſuch as know not the hiſtory: It is for this reaſon we are at the pains of giving a compendious view of the wars and tranſactions in Europe before his coming to Paris.

Therefore to proceed, Guſtavus, King of Swedeland, came out of his territories in the year 1630, and entered Pomerania with a mighty army; from whence, and from all the adjacent provinces, he drove the Imperialiſts. In the year 1631, he entered the more inferior parts of the empire, taking innumerable towns, and filling all places with terror; and this he did under pretext of vindicating the Evangelics or Proteſtants. In vain did Tilly the general of the Catholics oppoſe him; all that he could do was to burn Magdeburgh to aſhes.

After which the Proteſtant princes held a diet or aſſembly at Leipſick, where they entered into a confederacy againſt the emperor, joining their forces with thoſe of Guſtavus. Againſt theſe Tilly marched, with General Papenheim, and laid cloſe ſiege to Leipſick, which they were forced to ſurrender upon conditions.

After this, the King of Swedeland, the Duke of Saxony, with the other confederate princes, took to the field, and there was a terrible fight between them and the Imperialiſts at Leipſick, whoſe conſequence proved fatal to the latter; for Tilly having loſt ten

thouſand of his men, was forced to flee himſelf, whilſt Leipſick fell into the hands of the Duke of Saxony. This victory opened a clear way for the King of Swedeland to overrun all Germany; ſo that having taken Wirtzberg, he ſoon reduced all Franconia or Frankenland, after that Mentz, with other provinces, ſpreading like a fire or a deluge of water. In the mean while, the Duke of Saxony invaded Bohemia, and took Prague the capital city of that kingdom. In a word, ſo general was the conſternation throughout the empire, that ſome princes, to divert the ſtorm which they ſaw hanging over their heads, had recourſe to the protection of the King of France, who accordingly, by his mediation, ſkreened them from violence, eſpecially the Archbiſhop of Triers or Treves.

In the year 1632, the King of Swedeland purſued the courſe of his victories, ravaging, without ſtop or oppoſition, through Alſatia, Bavaria, and other parts, ſtill taking towns and ſtrong holds, filling all places alſo with ruin and deſolation. At length, paſſing the Danube, he routed Tilly once more with all his army, who died ſoon after of a wound he received in the battle.

Walleſtein was ſtraight ſubſtituted in his place, who recovered Prague in Bohemia from the Saxons. Then, after many conflicts and ſkirmiſhes, he encountered the King of Swedeland at Lutzen, a town not far from Leipſick. This battle proved fatal to Guſtavus, for in it he loſt his life, and not long after him, General Papenheim on the German ſide.

The ſame year, Sigiſmund King of Poland dying,

his ſon Uladiſlaus ſucceeded him in the throne. The Swedes were not in the leaſt diſcouraged from proſecuting the war by the death of their king; but whereas before they fought for conqueſt and liberty, now they ſeemed to fight for revenge. Chriſtina, the daughter of Guſtavus Adolphus, was ſoon ſet upon the throne of Sweden: After this, there was a diet held at Francfort, conſiſting of Swedes and Saxons; then there was another aſſembled at Hailbrun; and in the year 1634, the ſtates of Saxony met at Helberſtadt to conſult about their own ſafety. Much about the ſame time happened the ſieges of Ratiſbonne and Norlingen. This year was noted with tragical characters, on the account of the great deſolation made in the provinces lying on the Rhine, by war, peſtilence, and famine, where people were reduced to thoſe ſtraits as to feed on human fleſh, and to do other things which will ſcarce now ſeem credible.

The next year, 1635, ſeemed to give a new turn to the affairs in Germany; for the Duke of Saxony, Brandenburgh, and Luxemburgh, having had a treaty at Prague in Bohemia, came over to the emperor's party; yet the Swedes ſtill purſued the war.

The two following years were remarkable for the election of Ferdinand III. who was choſen king of the Romans 1636, and ſucceeded his father in the empire 1637; as alſo for the irruption made by Galaſſio general of the German forces into France, which was attended with various events on both ſides, till at length, toward the end of 1637, Galaſſio returned with his army into the empire again.

The ſame year before, there was a notable ſea-fight between the Spaniards and Hollanders. Prince Maurice overcame the Portugueſe in Braſil, and took from them immenſe riches. The Prince of Orange beſieged Breda and took it. The ſame year died Boliſlaus the laſt Duke of Pomerania. Much about the ſame time, the pope earneſtly exhorted the princes of Europe to eſtabliſh a general peace.

Such was the face of things in Chriſtendom when this Turk came firſt to Paris; and it is evident that the ſcenes were often changed in the courſe of thoſe former years which I have here recounted; and ſo they have been ever ſince, which was the true reaſon of that variety of ſubjects with which our author abounds; in ſome letters giving an account of battles, ſieges, and other events of campaigns; gloſſing alſo, and deſcanting on the good conduct, or overſights of great generals; on the valour of famous captains; and, in general, on the fortune of war. In others he treats of court intrigues, juntos of politicians, and ſubtle propoſals of ſtateſmen.

Again, when he writes to his intimate friends, he either entertains them with melancholy complaints of his long abſence from Conſtantinople, and his native country, with the inconveniencies, miſeries, hazards, and hardſhips that attend it; or elſe diverts them with ſome trifling diſcourſe, comical ſtory, or ſomething very unuſual, ſurpriſing, and ſtrange.

In the time of war, he ſeems to be a curious engroſſer of the earlieſt and choiceſt news. In time of peace he watches the motions of Cardinal Richlieu,

Mazarini, Olivarez, and other great miniſters of ſtate; for this end he had his agents about in every corner of the Court of France, beſides his intelligencers of Vienna, Venice, or ſome other city of Europe.

But give him leave ſometimes to lay aſide the cares and buſy toils of life; and wonder not if he ſeem, in ſome of his letters, very melancholy; in others, of a contrary humour, cheerful and frolicſome; for theſe unevenneſſes of temper happen to every man.

You ſhall hear him ſometimes wiſhing himſelf amongſt the pyramids of Egypt, confined and incloſed within thoſe antique piles, a companion of ghoſts and devils, rather than lead the life he did in Paris; when, at another ſeaſon, you ſhall find him all over content, and reſignation itſelf in the abſtract.

Beſides, the difference of his years ought to be conſidered, which, at the climacterical periods, are obſerved to alter mens ſpirits, as well as their bodies; ſo that it is no wonder, if, in the courſe of five-and-forty years which he paſſed away at Paris, both his genius and converſation may ſeem to vary at ſome critical ſeaſons, through the natural force of time, and the change of the elements of which his body was compounded; as he himſelf, in his letters, makes the ſame apology.

Add to all this, his daily improvements by obſervation, experience, reading, meditating, converſe, and habitual engagements in the world; for which reaſon alone, it would be unequal to expect the ſame method of writing from him, either as to ſenſe

or ſtyle, matter or form, when he was but thirty or forty years old, as when he was threeſcore or threeſcore and ten. Moſt of the famous writers in the world have not only changed the opinions which they harboured in their greener years, but, before they came to the age of our Spy, ſome of them have publicly recanted them, both with their tongue and pen. Neither is it a ſhame to any man, ſo long as the old axiom is true: "Humanum eſt errare; at, errores feliciter retractare, vere Divinum."

Neither could our Spy, conſidering his education in the Mahometan religion, take a properer method, in my opinion, to diſengage himſelf from the legends of the nurſery, and the fables of the ſchools, (as a great man calls our infant ideas of things) than to follow the counſel of his beloved des Cartes, the French philoſopher, whom he ſo much admired; and who adviſes every one that would perfect his reaſon, and arrive at the knowledge of undiſguiſed truth, to ſhake off the prepoſſeſſions and prejudices of his infancy and youth; to wipe, bruſh, or ſweep his ſoul clean of the very duſt and relics left behind on our faculties, by thoſe firſt foreign invaſions and encroachments on our minds. Having thus cleanſed and poliſhed the ſoul, it becomes a pure tabula raſa, fit for the beſt or worſt impreſſions. And here is the firſt ſtart of the free-will; for, before this, a man is a perfect ſlave, driven up and down by every ſpirit that blows ſtrongeſt on him; whereas, now he begins to feel ſome ſtrength and conſiſtence in himſelf, being able to ſay, with interior and ſolid

reaſon, " Cogito ergo ſum." Fixing therefore on this foundation, he builds a fortreſs or ſtrong-hold, from whence he defies all the attempts of open enemies, or ſly ſecret interlopers; neither permitting himſelf to be debauched by the profaneneſs of libertines and atheiſts, nor by the ridiculous enthuſiaſms of fanatics and zealots. This is the courſe which our Turk ſeems to have taken with himſelf, when he once arrived to thoſe years wherein men uſually begin to examine the grounds of religion, and bring the documents and traditions of their fathers to the teſt of ſenſe and reaſon. It is no wonder, therefore, if in ſome letters to his familiar and intimate friends, he diſcourſes of ſuch matters with more freedom than when he writes to the muſti, the muſti's vicar, the preacher of the ſeraglio, or any of the grandees; yet even to theſe he makes bold, ſometimes, to propoſe queries, and ſtart ſcruples; which plainly diſcover, that he was not fully ſatisfied in many principles and practices of the Mahometans.

On the other hand, when he writes to the Jew, his correſpondent at Vienna, he endeavours to reclaim him from a too fond and implicit confidence in the Hebrew Rabbis, whom he calls religious trifflers, ridiculing their fables, and vain inſtitutions, and perſuading his friend not to be over-pious, but to attend the affairs of his employment with alacrity, and to be zealous in the Grand Signior's ſervice. He likewiſe frequently explodes the vanity and ſuperſtition of ſome ſort of Chriſtians, with ſome tartneſs indeed, but free from all ill nature and bitter-

neſs, every where ſpeaking honourably of Chriſt Jeſus, our Bleſſed Saviour, only condemning the vices and errors of his followers; which laſt is no more than what would become a Chriſtian divine, whoſe duty it is to reprove and correct whatſoever he ſees amiſs in thoſe that profeſs the Chriſtian faith.

In general, he appears a man void of ſuperſtition and bigotry; and, if he ſeems partial, or biaſſed any ways, it is in the point of abſtinence from fleſh, and the doctrine of tranſmigration; whereby we may conclude he was a Pythagorean, which is no new or uncommon thing among the Turks, there being a particular ſect of Mahometans wholly devoted to the rules of that philoſopher; and it is well known that Pythagoriſm is in great reputation all over the Eaſt.

Hence we need not wonder that he appears ſo much enamoured with the Italian Gentiles, who are the ſtricteſt obſervers of abſtinence, and of the whole Pythagorean diſcipline, of any people in the world, as all our modern travellers can teſtify.

Though he cannot be called an antiquary, yet he appears a great lover of antiquities, and no leſs an admirer of new diſcoveries, provided they be both of them matters of importance, and worth a wiſe man's regard; for it does not belong to either of theſe characters, that a man is a curious collector of medals, images, pictures, and a thouſand other inſignificant trifles, which can neither ſerve to illuſtrate hiſtory, regulate chronology, nor adjuſt any momentous difficulty in the records of Time, but are only reverenced for their ruſtineſs, illegible cha-

racters, and exotic figure; nor that he is fond of every little improvement in arts or ſciences, which perhaps has no other tendency than the advantage of ſome particular trade or profeſſion among men, and ſerves only to divert the mind from more ſolid objects: whereas our Arabian aſpires at higher things; he loves antiquities, but it is only ſuch as draw the veil from off the infancy of time, and uncover the cradle of the world. This makes him inſiſt with ſo much zeal and paſſion on the records of the Chineſe and Indians. He admires new diſcoveries, but only ſuch as ſhall either conduct us to the yet unknown parts of the earth, or preſent us with a truer and more perfect ſcheme of the heavens, than what was before extant, as may be ſeen by his letters to Oſman Adrooneth, aſtrologer to the Sultan, Vol. VIII. Book IV. page 191. and to Abdelmelec Muli Omer, preſident of the College of Sciences at Fez, Vol. VIII. Book IV. page 239.

He often praiſes and recommends the reading of hiſtory to his friends; and, throughout the courſe of theſe letters, gives ſufficient proofs that he is no ſtranger to it: which yet need not be laid to his charge, as if he affected to be thought a knowing man, or that he ſpent his time in ſtudies foreign to his employment; for he began to read hiſtories, as he himſelf declares, long before he came to Paris, as ſoon as he was releaſed from his captivity in Palermo in Sicily, and had acceſs to the academies; which makes it no wonder that he ſhould employ his vacant hours in the libraries of Paris, after he came thither, being a very inquiſitive man, and greedy of

knowledge. Beſides, he was commanded by his ſuperiors thus to improve himſelf, and to tranſmit the abſtracts of what he read to Conſtantinople, which is a ſufficient excuſe for all.

It only remains now that we touch upon ſome tranſactions of the Eaſt, as we have already done upon thoſe in the Weſt, that ſo the reader, who perhaps has not the leiſure to peruſe the Turkiſh hiſtory, may the better underſtand ſome paſſages in theſe letters relating thereto.

Our Spy was born in the reign of Sultan Achmet, during whoſe life, he being but a youth, it will be to no purpoſe to recount what happened in thoſe parts, or between that monarch and the Chriſtians.

Achmet dying, was ſucceeded by Muſtapha his brother, of whom our author makes ſome mention, as, of his throwing gold to the fiſhes of the ſea, and of the cruelty of Sultan Amurat IV. in cauſing him to be ſtrangled. Indeed, he was a prince who made ſo ſmall and contemptible a figure in the world, that few hiſtorians take any other notice of him than as a man more fit for a convent than for a royal palace.

Therefore, he being depoſed, and remanded to his former priſon, where he had ſpent his youth, Oſman, the ſon of Achmet, was placed in the throne of his fathers. He renewed the ancient leagues, which had been made between his anceſtors and ſeveral Chriſtian princes; wrote letters to James I. King of England, and Louis XIII. King of France; aided the Emperor of Germany againſt the Hungarians, Bohemians, and other rebels; but at length, entering

into a war with Poland, his army was beaten, from which time his affairs began to decline: And the next year, giving out that he would make a pilgrimage to Mecca, he was ſtrangled by the janizaries, who ſuſpected that he deſigned to aboliſh their order, and alter the conſtitution of the empire.

Then Muſtapha was taken out of his priſon again, and the ſecond time placed on the throne, who ſoon after experienced the mutability of fortune, in that he was again laid aſide, and Amurat, the brother of Oſman, eſtabliſhed in his ſtead.

This Amurat was a very warlike prince, and eſteemed the ſtouteſt man of his age. He had not long ſwayed the Ottoman ſceptre, when the Perſians came and beſieged Bagdad, or Babylon, which they took from the Turks. Then the Coſſacs, with the inhabitants of the Ukrain, gave him ſome diverſion, making violent incurſions into the Turkiſh territories, and laying all waſte wherever they came. However, the Sultan regarded the Perſian war with moſt concern: He ſent an army toward Babylon, in the year 1626, who were defeated by the Perſians, twenty thouſand Turks being killed on the ſpot. This was revenged afterwards by the ſlaughter of thirty thouſand Perſians. Then followed the ſiege, or rather blockade of Babylon by the Turks. A while after this happened that dreadful fire at Conſtantinople, which conſumed a third part of the city; of which our Spy makes mention in ſome of his letters, eſpecially to his friend Dgnet Oglou, who had ſuffered great loſſes in the conflagration.

Not long after this, there was a rebellion raiſed

in the Holy Land, by Facardine, the brave and famous Emir of Sidon, with whom joined ſome other diſcontented Baſſas and Beys of Egypt; but Amurat, ſending powerful forces againſt them, reduced them to their duty. Afterwards, enticing Facardine to Conſtantinople, the old Emir went accordingly with forty thouſand men at his heels, who encamped at a diſtance from the city; but at length, truſting too much to Sultan Amurat's allurements and fair promiſes, he ventured ſo far into the Grand Signior's clutches, that he was ſtrangled. This our Spy deſcants upon in ſeveral letters.

Next followed the taking of Ravan by the Perſians, which was accompanied by the rebellion of the Beglerbeg of Greece; at which time there raged a deſtructive plague at Conſtantinople. In this year our Spy came to Paris. Much about the ſame time, the Perſians routed the Turks before Babylon, and forced them to raiſe the ſiege.

Amurat was ſo enraged with theſe reiterated ill ſucceſſes, that, collecting together a mighty army, he led them in perſon to the walls of Babylon, and laid cloſe ſiege to that city, reſolving never to return to Conſtantinople till he had won that important place, which he accordingly did, with an infinite ſlaughter of the Perſians. Our Spy ſpeaks much of this ſiege, ſometimes extolling the bravery of Schach Abbas, King of the Perſians, at other times magnifying the valour of Amurat.

The Grand Signior, returning from this ſucceſsful campaign, entered Conſtantinople in triumph; and being puffed up with his victories, gave the reins

to his paſſion, committing a thouſand exorbitancies and cruelties. At length he died of a fever, which he got by exceſſive drinking of wine and ſpirits, to which he had much addicted himſelf.

Ibrahim, brother to Amurat, ſucceeded in the throne, a prince wholly given over to the amours of women; yet he commenced that long and tedious war with the Venetians, which coſt ſo much money and blood on both ſides, which laſted above twenty years, and which was not ended till the ſurrender of Candia, the chief city of the iſland bearing that name, which conſummated the conqueſt of the whole iſle.

The occaſion of this war is related variouſly. Our hiſtories affirm, that it was begun on the account of Sultan Ibrahim's ſon being taken captive by the Knights of Malta, who was afterwards educated in that iſland, became a monk, and, for diſtinction ſake, in regard of his ſuppoſed extraction, was called Padre Ottomanno, or Ottoman Father. Our Spy contradicts all this, and ſays he was only the ſon of a female ſlave belonging to the Seraglio, there being no account to be had of his father.

Ibrahim being tranſported with an extravagant luſt after women, and having debauched the mufti's daughter, the mufti, with the Grand Viſier, and ſome other baſſas, conſpired againſt him, drawing his own mother into the plot. At length he was ſeized, depoſed, and, after ſome days confinement, growing mad, he was ſtrangled in his priſon, and his ſon Mahomet IV. aſcended the throne; a prince addicted more to hunting, and the pleaſures of a

country life, than to war, or love of women; whence it was, that he ſpent moſt of his ſummers in ſome delightful ſolitude, where the agreeable ſhades of the trees, the purling ſtreams, and harmony of birds, invited him as to an earthly paradiſe. Yet this hindered not the Grand Viſier from proſecuting the wars in Hungary, Dalmatia, Candia, and elſewhere, as there was occaſion. Of all which things, our Spy gives hints in his Letters, according to their proper ſeaſons.

To draw towards a concluſion. The reader of theſe Letters may obſerve, that our Spy in ſome of them makes mention of ſeveral papers and journals which came to his hands; and of one which he wrote himſelf in the academies, wherein is contained the hiſtory of his youth, with the moſt memorable adventures which befel him in that part of his life.

But, among foreign journals, he ſeems to put the moſt value on thoſe of Carcoa, Peſteli Hali his brother, and Ibouf his couſin. The firſt of theſe was a private agent for the Grand Signior at Vienna, who lived ſome years there after our Spy came to Paris, and held a ſtrict correſpondence with him, by order of the Turkiſh Divan, as appears by ſeveral letters in the 1ſt and 2d Volumes; but at length dying, his journal and other papers were ſent by his ſucceſſor to our Spy, with a ring, which Carcoa had bequeathed him as a legacy and token of his inviolable friendſhip, even to death.

This journal, as we may gather from ſome of our Spy's letters, contains copies of all the diſpatch-

es which Carcoa ſent to the miniſters of the Porte, during his reſidence at Vienna, with ſome of their letters to him. In theſe, as we may farther collect, is couched a hiſtory of all the moſt remarkable tranſactions in Europe, with parallel occurrences and events in the Eaſt, from the year 1600, or thereabouts, to the year 1652, at which time Carcoa died. Our Spy, beſides other commendations which he gives this journal of Carcoa, particularly celebrates it in one of his laſt letters to Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew at Vienna. At the firſt receipt of that journal, he ſent an anſwer to Nathan, which begins thus: "Thy letter, with Carcoa's journal, is come ſafe to my hands, and the ring which he bequeathed me," &c. And a little after, he ſays, "His memoirs will be of great ſervice to me, containing a more accurate hiſtory of the German Court, from the year 1600 to the time of his death, than I have yet ſeen extant. I am not unacquainted with relations of this kind," &c. Vol. II. Book I. Letter XXXI. page 78. But in the very laſt letter he wrote to that Jew, he gives this journal yet far higher encomiums, praiſing the elegance and ſuccinctneſs of the ſtyle, the ſolidity of the matter, and the great uſefulneſs as well as delightfulneſs of both; as may be ſeen more at large in Vol. VIII. Book IV. Letter XVI. page 250.

The ſecond journal is that of Peſteli Hali, brother to our Spy, and a great traveller in Aſia. At his return to Conſtantinople he was made maſter of the cuſtoms, and ſuperintendant of the arſenal there. His journal contains an accurate account of his travels through Syria, Arabia, Perſia, India, China,

Tartary Georgia, Circaſſia, Mingrelia, &c. with choice remarks and obſervations on the divers religions, laws, cuſtoms, and forms of government, which he found among ſo many people of different nations; as alſo ſeveral ſtrange and pleaſant adventures that happened to him on the roads, and in cities; the eſcapes he made from robbers, and his intrigues with the Perſian and Indian ladies; all which our Spy profeſſes he took great delight to read. In a word, according to the character which he gives of this journal, we may believe that it contains many uſeful and pleaſant memoirs, in hiſtory, philoſophy, morality, and the politics.

As for the journal of Iſouf, his couſin, we may conclude, from ſeveral letters in our Spy, that it deſerves much the ſame character, only with this advantage, that beſides his travels through all, or moſt of the forementioned countries in the Eaſt, he adds an account of his journeys through the South, having viſited the chiefeſt regions of Afric; and Mahmut appears particularly pleaſed with this laſt part of his journal, as containing narratives of countries to which he was wholly then a ſtranger. In a word, upon the reading of this journal, he conceived ſo great an affection for his couſin Iſouf, the author of it, that he recommends him to his brother Peſteli Hali, and to one of the baſſas, as a man deſerving the Sultan's favour, and ſome preferments ſuitable to his abilities, which may be a ſufficient ground for us to believe, that this journal was not ſtuffed with vain romantic fables and empty trifles, but that it had ſomething in it extraordinary and illuſtrious.

If, therefore the publiſher of theſe volumes, who has been at great expence and pains in endeavouring to retrieve the ſaid journals, ſhould ever be ſo happy as to ſucceed in his attempt, he promiſes himſelf that the publication of the ſaid journals will be a work both uſeful and acceptable to the world.

INTERPRETATION

OF SOME

TURKISH AND ARABIC WORDS

Which may ſeem Obſcure and Unintelligible either in theſe Letters or in their Titles.

AARAF, a place of priſons; purgatory, or a mid-receptacle of ſouls between paradiſe and hell, according to the doctrine of the Turks.

ALLAH, the name of God.

BASSA, a title of honour given to governors of provinces, and privy counſellors of the Grand Signior.

BERBER AGA, the Grand Signior's barber.

BEY, a lord.

BEGLERBEG, lord of lords. A title equivalent to our dukes and princes.

BOSTANGI, a gardener.

CADILESQUER, a lord chief-juſtice.

CADI, a judge, or juſtice of the peace.

CALIPH, a prince, or high prieſt.

CHAN, a duke.

CHEIK, a lawyer.

CHERIFF, a prince.

CHIAUX, a bailiff, or ſerjeant.

CORBAN, a Mahometan ſacrifice of ſheep, which being killed and cut in pieces, are diſtributed to the poor.

DERVISE, a religious man.

DEY, a governor.

DIVAN, the Grand Signior's privy-council; alſo a raiſed ground in a hall, or any other room of a houſe.

DUNALMA, a feſtival, or royal holiday.

EMIR, a lord.

FESTA, the ſentence which the mufti gives in the determination of any cauſe brought before him.

HARNA, the treaſury.

HARODA, the royal chamber.

HASNADAR BASSI, chief treaſurer to the Grand Signior.

HODGIA, a doctor of laws.

HOLBAGI, a confectioner.

IMAUM, a miniſter, or clerk of a church.

JANISAR AGA, general of the janizaries.

KAIMACHAM, a deputy-lieutenant, or governor of a city. The Grand Viſier's Vicegerent. By way of excellency, it is appropriated to him who governs Conſtantinople in the Grand Viſier's abſence.

KIAYA BEY, lord-lieutenant of the janizaries.

MANDARIN, a governor of a province, or a lord.

MINARET, a turret, or ſteeple of a moſque.

MIRZAH, a general.

MOLLAH, a doctor or preacher.

MURCERMAN, a carrier or muleteer.

MUSSULMAN, or MOSELMAN, a true believer, one reſigned to God. This title the Mahometans arrogate to themſelves, as the only elect of God, in their own conceits.

NABOB, a lord.

OMRAH, a colonel, or lord.

REIS EFFENDI, a ſecretary of ſtate.

SANTONE, a holy man.

SELICTAR AGA, the ſword bearer to the ſultan.

SERASQUIER, a general of an army.

SOLACK and SAICK, footmen.

SULTAN, a king or emperor.

TEFTERDER, lord-treaſurer.

VISIER AZEM, the firſt miniſter of ſtate.

TO THE READER.

I HERE offer you a book written by a Turk, whose matter is as inſtructive and delightful as the manner of finding it was ſtrange and ſurpriſing. I do not doubt but you would know where it was written, and perhaps whether the author be living, and whether you muſt expect a romance or a real hiſtory. Hear then in ſhort what will fully ſatisfy you.

The curioſity of ſeeing Paris made a man of letters leave Italy in the year 1682, where being arrived, he found ſuch diverſions as cauſed his ſtay longer than he intended.

Scarce had he been two months in Paris, when, by changing his lodging, he diſcovered, by mere chance, in a corner of his chamber, a great heap of papers, which ſeemed more ſpoiled by duſt than time.

He was at firſt ſurpriſed to ſee nothing but barbarous characters, and was upon the point of leaving them without any farther ſearch, if a Latin ſentence, which he perceived on the top of a leaf, had not detained him:

Ubi amatur, non laboratur; et ſi
Laboratur, labor amatur.

The ſurpriſe of the Italian was yet greater, when after having conſidered theſe characters with more attention, he found them to be Arabic, which language was not altogether unknown to him, which made him look more narrowly into them, where he found that they treated of affairs of ſtate; that they contained relations of war and peace; and diſcourſed not only of the affairs of France, but of thoſe of all Chriſtendom, till the year 1682.

The curious Italian was in no ſmall impatience to know how and where theſe memorials had been written, and by what adventure they came to lie ſo neglected in a corner of his chamber; but before he further informed himſelf, he thought it expedient to tranſport theſe manuſcripts into another houſe, as a place of greater ſecurity.

He afterwards queſtioned his landlord, with great precaution, concerning the papers, and he informed him even to the leaſt circumſtances.

He told him, that a ſtranger, who ſaid he was a native of Moldavia, habited like an eccleſiaſtic, greatly ſtudious, of ſmall ſtature, of a very coarſe countenance, but of ſurpriſing goodneſs of life, had lived long at his houſe; that he came to lodge there in the year 1664, and had ſtaid eighteen years with him; that being gone abroad one day, he returned no more, and they had no certain news of him ſince: He was about ſeventy years old, had left ſome manuſcripts which nobody underſtood, and ſome moneys, which was an argument that his departure was not premeditated.

He added, that he had always a lamp, day and

night, burning in his chamber; had but few moveables, only ſome books, a ſmall tome of St. Auſtin, Tacitus, and the Alcoran, with the picture of Maſſaniello, whom he praiſed very much, calling him the Moſes of Naples. He ſaid farther, that this ſtranger's greateſt friend, and whom he ſaw often, was a man which moſt people took for a ſaint, ſome for a Jew, and others ſuſpected to be a Turk: According to the landlord's report, he came to Paris in the year 1637, being then but 28 years of age; at firſt, he had lodged with a Fleming; he went often to court; moneys never failed him; he had friends, and paſſed for very learned. As for his end, this man thinks he died miſerably, it being ſuſpected that he had been thrown into the river.

The Italian, being ſufficiently inſtructed by what he had heard, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Arabian language, and as he had already ſome knowledge in it, he quickly learned enough to tranſlate theſe manuſcripts, which he undertook a while after; and he examined with care the truth of what the Moldavian had written, confronting the events he met with the hiſtories of thoſe times; and to ſucceed the better, ſearched the moſt approved memorials, having had acceſs into the cabinets of princes and their miniſters.

Theſe letters contain the moſt conſiderable intrigues of the court of France, and the moſt remarkable tranſactions of Chriſtendom, which have been ſent to ſeveral officers of the Ottoman court.

By theſe may be known the perſpicacity of this agent of the Turks, and by him the prudence of

thoſe that command in that nation, who choſe (the better to penetrate into the affairs of Chriſtians) a man who could not be ſuſpected by his exterior, who was deformed, but prudent and adviſed, and, for the better concealing him, deſtined his ordinary abode in one of the greateſt and moſt peopled cities of Europe.

During his being at Paris, which was forty-five years, he has been eye-witneſs of many great changes, has ſeen the death of two great miniſters of ſtate, has ſeen that kingdom involved in war, without and within. He was ſcarce ſettled in Paris, but he was witneſs to the birth of a king, who ſurpaſſed thoſe that preceded him, in a time when the queen's barrenneſs cauſed the king her huſband to deſpair of ever having a ſon that ſhould ſucceed him.

During the courſe of ſo many years, he hath ſeen cities revolt, and return again to the obedience of their ſovereign, princes of the blood make war againſt their king, and Queen Mary de Medicis, wife, mother, and mother-in-law to ſome of the greateſt kings in Europe, die in exile in Cologne.

He ſpeaks frankly of the princes of Chriſtendom, and explains his ſentiments with liberty: He ſaith, the Emperor commands princes, the King of Spain men, and the King of France ſees men, and even kings obey his orders; he adds, that the firſt commands and prays, the ſecond ſees oft times more effected than he commanded, and that the third commands many brave ſoldiers, and is well nigh obeyed by crowned heads. There appears no heat or animoſity in him, in what he writes againſt the pope.

In diſcourſing of the Emperor and King of Spain, he ſays, that both of them having provinces of ſuch vaſt extent, they are not much concerned at the loſſes they ſuſtain.

He believed that England was more powerful than the empire and Spain at ſea; he apprehended more the counſels of the republic of Venice than their arms; he magnifies what paſſed in the wars of Candy, which the Venetians ſupported with ſo much bravery againſt the forces of the Ottoman empire: The Genoeſe with him are perfect chemiſts; he ſpeaks of the laſt plague, and laſt war that this commonwealth had been afflicted with; he touches ſomething of the late conſpiracy againſt the ſtate by Raggi and Torre; and to ſhow that he underſtood their hiſtory, he ſays ſomewhat of Vachero and Balbi.

Thou wilt ſee, reader, by the progreſs of the work, what this ſecret envoy of the Ottoman Porte thought of the other princes of Italy, and thoſe of the North; and I have drawn his picture, becauſe thou mayeſt underſtand better what I give thee of him.

This Arabian (for he declares himſelf in his writings to have been of that nation) having been taken and made a ſlave by the Chriſtians, was brought into Sicily, where he applied himſelf to learning; he ſtudied logic in his captivity, and applied himſelf much to hiſtory; he overcame them by ſuffering with patience the blows of his maſter, who often beat him for endeavouring to acquire thoſe lights which this brute had not; and finally, after much labour, great aſſiduity, and long watchings, he came, as he writes

himſelf, to underſtand Greek and Latin authors; he had commerce afterwards with the beſt maſters, and during his ſojourning in the French court, he joined experience to the knowledge he had acquired.

He explains himſelf neatly, and ſpeaks of things with great frankneſs: His ſtyle ſhows a great liberty of ſpirit, and never paſſion; and if it appear that he accommodates himſelf to the faſhion of the court, one may ſee that it is not out of deſign to pleaſe, but that he wiſely conforms himſelf ſometimes to the genius of nations.

Thou wilt find in his letters wit and learning: If ſometimes he appears tart, it is to ſhow his vivacity, not diſoblige; and he appears all over fully inſtructed in ancient and modern hiſtory: He is very reſerved when he blames, and ſeems perſuaded when he praiſes: When he ſpeaks to the great men of the Porte, his ſtyle is very grave, and he changes when he writes to meaner perſons: He never tells news that he is not aſſured of, nor thinks of divining things that ſeem obſcure to him.

He gives rare leſſons when he writes of the revolutions of Catalonia, the kingdoms of Naples, Portugal, and England, which happened in our days, with ſtrange circumſtances, terrible murders, and the death of a potent king, martyred by his own ſubjects upon a ſcaffold before his own door.

He weighs much the Duke of Guiſe's hardy reſolution of going to Naples to ſuccour the revolted there; and he reaſons not as a barbarian, but like an able ſtateſman and wiſe philoſopher, on the riſe and ruin of ſtates; he always diſcourſes with liberty,

and what he ſays is filled with ſolid and agreeable thoughts: He ſpeaks ſometimes of the cruelty and tyranny of the Turks, of the violence of the miniſters of the Porte, and upon the precipitated death which many of the Sultans, Baſſas, and Viſiers are forced to ſuffer; but this language is only to his friends and confidents.

However, though theſe letters be neither Greek nor Latin, nor written by a Chriſtian, they contain nothing of barbarous; and though the ignorant be in great numbers amongſt the Turks, there are yet men of great underſtanding that write the annals of the Ottoman empire, though they are not eaſily come by; for their books not being printed, they ſcarce ever reach us. We may notwithſtanding believe, that amongſt this nation, that we term barbarous, there are great and wiſe captains, good men, and learned authors; as we have amongſt us generals without conduct, hypocritical votaries, and ignorant fellows that pretend to be maſters.

To juſtify what I affirm of the Turks, let us but conſider their victories, which have gained them ſo many kingdoms, their power at ſea, their exactneſs to puniſh crimes, and to reward merit. As for printing, they would never endure it amongſt them: A Grand Viſier's judgment of it was remarkable, which ſhows rather their prudence than any effect of their ignorance. A famous printer of Holland, by religion a Jew, came to Conſtantinople, bringing preſſes with him, with characters of all ſorts of idioms, particularly Arabic, Turkiſh, Greek, and Perſian letters, with deſign to introduce the uſe of

printing into that great city; as ſoon as the Viſier was informed of it, he cauſed the Jew to be hanged, and broke all his engines, and millions of characters which he had brought, declaring it would be a great cruelty, that one man ſhould, to enrich himſelf, take the bread out of the mouths of eleven thouſand ſcribes, who gained their livings at Conſtantinople by their pens.

Peruſe, gentle reader, what I offer, without fear of tiring thyſelf, or being deceived. As Chriſtian authors think of nothing ordinarily, but of writing panegyrics in hopes of reward, we have reaſon to believe not to find all the truth in their works; intereſt and paſſion do often make good princes paſs for tyrants, and unjuſt and cruel princes are ſometimes transferred to poſterity for models of juſtice and clemency. This occaſions hiſtories, which iſſue from ſo corrupt a ſource, to ſerve like a pitched field for modern writers, where the one and the other combat for the deſtruction of truth, the one falſely reporting what they have heard, and the other by as badly repreſenting the things they ſeem to witneſs. Moſt princes will have their altars, and then it is no wonder if there are prieſts found to ſacrifice to falſehood, and idolaters to deface the ſtatue of truth.

There is no general that will not always ſeem conqueror, and princes never confeſs their loſſes, which occaſions a confuſion, and the actions of men do thereby become doubtful.

How many times have we ſeen both the victors and vanquiſhed make bonfires for their ſucceſſes? And, in our days we have known the French rejoice,

and the Spaniards and Germans ſing their Te Deum, for the ſame thing.

As we are, perhaps, now leſs juſt than in ages paſt, it is difficult to write things as they are, particularly during the lives of princes, whoſe hiſtory cannot be written without fear, nor the truth ſaid without danger. For theſe reaſons, we ought not to queſtion the credit of our Arabian, who reports with liberty what came to his knowledge; beſides, he being an univerſal enemy to Chriſtianity, and a concealed one, neither diſobliged or gained by any, and religiouſly true to his prince, whom he adores as a divinity, it cannot be imagined that he ſays any thing for fear or favour.

As theſe relations have been read with attention, and diligently examined, we may be aſſured of an exact hiſtory, abounding in conſiderable events; and this hiſtory being ſeparated into letters, as the author wrote them, the reader may read them without repining: If he will not acknowledge the tranſlator's pains, let him at leaſt receive the labours of a dead man with civility, one that never dreamt his memorials would be printed, and that ſerved his maſter faithfully.

Theſe ſentiments made him exactly follow that ſentence of St. Auſtin, found in the front of his works:

> Where love is, there is no labour; and if there be labour, the labour is loved.

The tranſlator hath thought fit to retrench ſome ceremonies and proud titles of the eaſtern people; what is repreſented here, is in a familiar ſtyle, ſuch

as the ancient Latins uſed in their writings to their conſuls, dictators, and emperors themſelves; and, if the tranſlation be not elegant as the Arabic, do not accuſe the author, ſeeing it is not poſſible to reach the force and beauty of the original.

Have, moreover, ſome reſpect for the memory of this Mahometan; for, living unknown, he was ſafe from the inſults of the great ones, ſo that he might write truth without danger, which ordinarily is diſguiſed by fear or avarice, having ſtill reported the tranſactions of Chriſtians with no leſs truth than eloquence.

If what I have ſaid cannot ſatisfy the curious, expect the reſt of theſe letters, which will be found full of great actions, profitable inſtructions, and good morals. Thank God, however, who raiſes men that employ themſelves in vanquiſhing ignorance and idleneſs. And in rendering juſtice to Mahmut, a paſſionate ſlave for the intereſt of his maſter and the truth, have ſome goodneſs for the tranſlator, who, being born free, acknowledges no maſter but God, his king, and his reaſon.

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LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

A SPY AT PARIS.

BOOK I.

LETTER I.—MAHMUT *the Arabian, and Vileſt of the Grand Signior's Slaves, to* HASNADARBASSY, *Chief Treaſurer to his Highneſs at Conſtantinople.*

I HAVE at length finiſhed my journey, after one hundred and forty days march, arriving at Paris the 4th of this preſent moon, according to the Chriſtians ſtyle. I made no ſtay in Hungary, yet ſojourned one-and-forty days at Vienna, where I obſerved all the motions of that court, according as I was ordered; of which I ſhall not now ſpeak, having given a full account to the ever invincible Viſier Azem. Being but newly arrived, I ſcarce know any body, and am as little known myſelf. I have ſuffered my hair to grow a little below my ears; and as to my lodging, it is in the houſe of an old Fleming, where my room is ſo ſmall, that jealouſy itſelf can ſcarce enter. And becauſe I will have no enemy near me, I will therefore admit of no ſervant.

Being of low ſtature, of an ill-favoured countenance, ill ſhaped, and by nature not given to talkativeneſs, I ſhall the better conceal myſelf. Inſtead of my name, Mahmut the Arabian, I have taken on me that of Titus

the Moldavian; and with a little caſſock of black ſerge, which is the habit I have choſen, I make two figures, being in heart what I ought to be, but outwardly, and in appearance, what I never intend.

Carcoa at Vienna furniſhes me with bread and water, ſupplying me with juſt enough to live, and I deſire no more. The eggs here are dearer than pullets with you. It is to him that I will addreſs my letters.

Eliachim the Jew came to ſee me, who ſeems to be ſufficiently informed of what paſſes in the world, and will be an uſeful man to me: Yet I will never truſt him more than I need. Although I have a diſpenſation from the Mufti for lying, and falſe oaths which I ſhall be obliged to make, yet I have ſtill ſome qualms on my mind. However, our ſovereign muſt be ſerved, and I can commit no ſin as long as this is my ſole end. As for the intelligence which I ſhall ſend, none ſhall come from me but what is true, unleſs I be firſt deceived myſelf.

It will be hard for me to mention any thing conſiderable of a city which is not to be viewed in one day, I having been there but ſeven. It is peopled like the borders of the ſea with ſand, the inhabitants lodging to the very cock-lofts, and houſes are built on the bridges.

This great city is divided by a river, and both parts of it are joined by a great bridge of ſtone, well built and very ſtately. In the midſt of it is ſeen an horſe of braſs, with the ſtatue of Henry IV. which beſtrides it; whoſe heroic actions have juſtly ſurnamed him The Great; and he ſeems ſtill to command this capital of the kingdom. The other bridges, being full of houſes, are not ſeen; appearing as if they had been made for the city, not the river.

The king's palace is an ancient building, yet retains a

certain majeſty, which denotes the grandeur of its maſter: within it appears a deſart, for the court is always abroad, or in the army.

A churchman, termed at Rome a Cardinal, is the principal miniſter of ſtate; his name is Armand du Pleſſis, Cardinal of Richlieu. He is eſteemed a great politician, a man of wit and action, and every way fitted for the place he holds.

All the people make vows to heaven, that their king may become a father; for the queen has been barren theſe many years.

I go into the churches as a Chriſtian; and when I ſeem attentive to their myſteries, I hold our ſacred Alcoran in my hands, addreſſing my prayers to our holy Prophet; and thus behaving myſelf, I give no offence. I avoid diſputes, mind my own concerns, and do nothing which may endanger my ſalvation.

Preſerve thy health, and expect to hear from me as oft as the intereſt of our great and mighty monarch requires, who is the maſter of my life and affections.

I make thee no preſent of my ſervices, for they be devoted to that lord whoſe ſlave thou art, as well as I. The letters I write for the future, ſhall be directed to the miniſters of the Divan.

Live with the piety of a good Muſſulman, and the prudence of an able miniſter, and preſerve the treaſure as thine own heart, which (thou knoweſt) is the laſt expiring.

Paris, 11th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1637, according to the Chriſtian ſtyle.

II.—*To the ſame* HASNADARBASSY.

I HAD too good an opinion of myſelf, and did not ſufficiently conſider to whom I wrote, when I attempted, in ſo little a time, to give thee an account of the court of France, and how this king lives. An old Arabian was wont to ſay, "To have a perfect knowledge of things, we muſt know them more than once, and forget them thrice, to the end that learning them a fourth time they may become perfectly our own." This will inſtruct me how to write to my friends hereafter; not as I underſtand affairs, but as they ought to be underſtood; for, once well done, is better than twice ill done.

I think I may ſay, the Spaniards want ground themſelves, by taking an handful from others. Two-and-twenty of their galleys, with ſome other ſmall veſſels, have taken two ſmall iſlands, named St. Margaret's and St. Honorat's, which lie over againſt Provence, and are barren and unprofitable places, and will ſerve to little purpoſe unleſs for ports; and it is alſo a queſtion, how long they will hold them.

The war betwixt theſe two nations is like to continue, eſpecially from the death of the two Italian princes, Victor Amade, Duke of Savoy, and Charles Gonzague, Duke of Mantua.

I believe it an effect of Providence, that theſe two nations know not their own intereſt, or knowing it, neglect it. Heaven is more kind to us; for, as our empire tranſcends all others in ſtrength and greatneſs, ſo it does in unity and concord; by which means, it is in our power to make war, or live in peace. The Chriſtians never conſider the advantage they loſe, and the good they may acquire, by attacking of us, whom they yet hate, and treat as Barbarians.

The Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux is at preſent general of the French naval forces; who, though a prieſt, is yet permitted to turn tarpaulin and ſoldier. For my part, I underſtand not how a prelate of his rank can forſake his flock, his altar, and his function, if what the Chriſtians ſay be true: but that is nothing to us; and the King of France being ſo enlightened a prince, and employing him as he does, he muſt needs be a good ſeaman and ſoldier.

To ſay no more in this matter; "for princes, of what religion ſoever they be, are always ſacred, and not to be approached but with reſpect, ſeeing their doings lie above the reach of a common capacity."

I would fain hear of the Grand Signior's health; for when he is well, all the world is ſo to me, and without him I am nothing. I will not write ſo ſoon to the Grand Viſier, being deſirous to write what paſſes here with more exactneſs.

I am in this place like a man loſt in confuſion; for this town ſeems rather a province than a city. All is hurry and noiſe, every body bruſhing about after action. The men, for the moſt part, are for martial exploits, either at ſea or land; and as to the women, they are not idle, employing themſelves, as becomes them, either in the ſhops or kitchens; yet they take more care to ſhow themſelves, than ours do to hide themſelves. Do thou be careful of thy health, for I ſhall never be miſerable, having thee to my friend.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1637.

III.—*To* DARNISH MEHEMET, *Baſſa.*

I HAVE been at a ceremony which I am willing to ſee often, to give an account of it in my letters. It is the

Te Deum, which Chriſtian princes cauſe to be ſung in their churches on the gaining any conſiderable advantage over their enemies; which Te Deum is an anthem compoſed by two of their ſaints, to wit, Ambroſe and Auſtin. When the French beat the Spaniards they ſing the Te Deum; and when theſe vanquiſh their enemies they do the ſame. Theſe two nations do the duty of the Muſſulmans, in deſtroying one another; and, when this is done, they give God thanks for the evil they have committed. Whence we may judge of the wiſdom and piety of the Mahometans, amongſt whom there is ſeldom ſeen an open war; and if it ſhould happen it is generally condemned.

The rejoicing of the French proceeds hence: The Spaniards had beſieged Leucate, a ſmall peninſula in Languedoc, which is but four leagues round, with two ports, where a few galleys and four ſmall veſſels may anchor in ſafety. The place was attacked by the Spaniards with much heat, but was afterwards given over with as great loſs; the aſſailants being obliged to make a retreat, not unlike a ſhameful flight, quitted their baggage, their arms, and all their proviſion.

Count Serbellon offered at firſt to Barris, who commanded the place, a great ſum of money, which was to be attended with a conſtant penſion; which refuſed, they were neceſſitated to betake themſelves to force; by which, in ſhort, the Spaniards were entirely defeated. Serbellon withdrew towards Perpignan, with the Duke of Cardonn's ſon, who was viceroy of Catalonia. He loſt all his tents, his plate, and the money deſigned for payment of the army: and, I will ſay yet more, that he has loſt the reputation of a good captain and valiant ſoldier, until he can recover an opportunity to fight and vanquiſh. This victory muſt have been of conſequence, and very

glorious, ſeeing the king aſſiſted in perſon, together with the queen, two cardinals, the council of ſtate, and that of the finances, and that which they call here the Courts Sovereign, which are a company of men choſen to judge others. Beſides theſe, there was an innumerable concourſe of people, who teſtified their joy for the advantage gained by their king, notwithſtanding it be at the coſt of their brethren of the ſame religion.

Live happily, and conſerve thy honour as thy life.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1637.

IV.—*To* Isouf, *his Kinſman.*

I TELL thee I live, and am well. I have received no news from thee; perhaps thou thoughteſt me dead. I ſalute thee firſt with my letters, though thou oughteſt to have begun. If thou art aſhamed of my kindred, accuſe thy parents, by whom thou art become of the ſame family; but be not ungrateful to them, nor forgetful of the good thou haſt received from me. Thou ſhalt now know where I am, and ought to ſtay, and mayeſt anſwer me if thou wilt. Believe in the mean time the counſel I give thee, although thou doſt not demand it. Be devout in thy religion without hypocriſy, and remember there is no more Gods but One; as alſo, that the favourite and ſent of God is Mahomet his Prophet. After that, love thy maſter, without deſiring any thing more than the execution of his pleaſure. Embrace thy father as from me, and give thy mother a kiſs, ſaluting her as my ſiſter and friend, which is the moſt endearing title that antiquity could invent for perſons who had the ſame ſentiments of affection. Live happily, and conſerve thy chaſtity.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1637.

V.—*To the* AGA *of the Janizaries.*

I SHALL give thee ſome pleaſure in telling thee, that the Chriſtians loſe eaſier than they acquire. It ſeems, the Marquis Ambroſe Spinola, whom all the world took for a great captain, has loſt much of his reputation; ſeeing that a place is loſt in eleven weeks which he had formerly beſieged eleven months, and where he had expended eleven millions. If theſe circumſtances are true, they are very extraordinary. However, he ſhall continue a great captain in my opinion; and it is ordinary enough to ſee that loſt in a little time, by the cowardice of one, which has not been acquired in a great while by the valour of a whole army.

The Prince of Orange hath taken Breda, a place of great importance, which had been ſurrendered twelve years and three months ſince to the ſaid Spinola, who commanded the army of Spain. This conqueſt is great; for it was the general opinion the place could not be taken but by famine; yet hath it been conſtrained to yield by the continual fire and valour of the beſiegers.

Had not the Hollanders become maſters of this place, they had been, as it were, blocked up on the ſide of Brabant, and had the enemy always at their gates; whereas now they are more at large. We ought to rejoice rather at their acquiſitions than thoſe of the Spaniards, with whom we never had peace.

This place is fortified with much regularity. It hath fifteen baſtions, beſides ſome little forts on the moat ſide. There are five horn-works without. The place is conſiderable for its greatneſs. It contains 5000 houſes, with great gardens; and there are three principal gates.

I mention theſe particulars, becauſe thou art a man of war. Receive my letter kindly; believe me thy friend,

and do not doubt of my fidelity. If thou wilt add to thy valour by new merit, which will heighten the conſideration men have for thee, I will teach thee a ſecret, which will not be very expenſive, but very delightful. Read at times the hiſtories of others, and particularly thoſe of the greateſt and moſt fortunate princes, and their captains. Imitate rather the wiſe, than thoſe who have only ſignalized themſelves by their valour. To conclude, be converſant in hiſtories, but chooſe always the beſt, I mean ſuch as cannot be ſuſpected for lies. Thou canſt not fail of good books both Greek and Arabic, which are tranſlated into the Turkiſh and Perſian tongues. Thou wilt learn to be wiſe by the folly of others, and wilt become yet more prudent, by obſerving the ſage conduct of ſuch who performed great actions: Above all things, never neglect to make ſerious reflections upon the leaſt events. It happens ſometimes, that paſſages are found in books that ſeem of no conſequence, which may yet be of uſe in important occaſions, for the clearing of difficulties: and, for example, learn this from a great king, Henry IV. who conquered his kingdom by the dint of his ſword.

I will finiſh with a worthy ſaying of Marquis Spinola's, which, I think, is to the purpoſe: he ſaith, "That a captain's ſword muſt be tied to his heart, his heart fixed to his head, and conducted by his judgment;" which ought particularly to be formed by the reading of hiſtories. Love me as much as I eſteem thee, and thou wilt never love me enough.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the year 1637.

VI.—*To* Mehemet, *Page-Eunuch to the Sultan-Mother.*

Thou haſt ſpent fourteen years in the Seraglio, and, to thy unhappineſs, always been in the ſervice of women; ſerve now a man, who is certainly ſomewhat more than a woman. Thou knoweſt, the confidence we have in each other is arrived to that degree, as to diſcover our failings to each other, and to ſuffer them. Seeing I am at preſent far off, and by conſequence the more expoſed to critics and ill offices, do not forget the intereſts of thy friend; watch day and night for the advantage of my life. Obſerve, ſearch, and endeavour to penetrate what people diſcourſe of me, and what is ſaid concerning me at court. Our great emperor ſent me hither to obſerve what paſſes here, and render him an account. I know I am where I ought to practiſe what I am commanded to do, but I do not yet know whether I ſhall return to the place where I would willingly end my days. Moſt things are done on that ſide, but they are not all equally performed. I have therefore more juſt reaſon to apprehend, that all men do know that I ſhall acquit myſelf with fidelity of the orders I have received. Conſider how far his unhappineſs doth extend, who ſerves another who is maſter of ſo many millions of ſubjects.

I will inform thee of two things, whereof thou ſhalt tell the firſt to the Baſſa of the Sea, and the other to the Mufti's vicar. We are told, that the King of England hath ſet forth a veſſel upon the Britiſh ocean, of ſuch prodigious greatneſs, that it exceeds all others, as well in force as vaſtneſs. It is armed with 120 braſs guns, it draws, unrigged, ſeventeen feet of water, and its bulk is 3100 tons. It is reported, that it coſt two millions of piaſters, and, as if it were the king of all other ſhips, it is called The Sovereign. The ſecond news is, a prodigy

that happened in Upper Saxony, which finds but a little credit with the wiſe, but is eaſily believed by the women and the common people.

They ſay, that at Dreſden one of the Duke of Saxony's courtiers having cut a piece of boiled beef, there iſſued ſo much blood out of it, that the elector's table was wholly covered with it, which extremely troubled this prince, looking upon the adventure as a preſage of famine and war. Let me hear often from thee, and of our friends; but, make no confidence to any of that which is betwixt us. Thou ſhalt learn from me ſecrets of great importance, provided thou be faithful and diſcreet. God grant thee in an inſtant, the good which I ſhall wiſh to acquire in my whole life.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1637.

VII.—*To the Invincible Viſier* Azem.

SEEING thou haſt acquired the knowledge of things preſent, by thy prudence and rare underſtanding, and haſt deſired me to inform thee of thoſe things which ſhall happen in the places whither thou haſt ſent me; I will endeavour to penetrate into affairs the moſt ſecret, to the end that nothing in this world may be hid from thee.

At preſent, there are but few actions in Chriſtendom which deſerve to be reported; and thou art ſufficiently inſtructed in the affairs of France, and touching the perſon of her king. I expect to inform thee of events, which at the ſame time may divert thee, and inſtruct thee. This prince is called Henry the Juſt; he cannot be called the Happy, for having as yet no ſon to ſucceed him, there will be always occaſions of trouble in his kingdom; nor is there any hopes that the queen may prove with

child, by reaſon of her long barrenneſs. If the king will reſolve to be divorced from her, and take another, it cannot be effected without Rome; and Rome, the Mufti, and all their prieſts, will, according to their uſual manner, raiſe ſo many difficulties, and be ſo long before they determine, that it will be a hard matter to extort from them that conſent, which the laws of the Chriſtians render neceſſary for the diſſolving a firſt marriage. Certainly this ſlavery, which doth thus ſubject the Chriſtian princes, is hard; but it is a point of their law, which being of no importance to thee, I will trouble thee no more with it. This defect of a ſucceſſor in the King of France, is of great advantage to the Spaniards; and one would think heaven had created this nation to be enemies to the French. It ſeems moreover, there is a ſecret violence which entertains an antipathy betwixt the two nations; which enforces a belief, "that there can never be a ſolid peace betwixt them."

Thou haſt already underſtood from thoſe I writ to, and who dare hide nothing from thee, what hath happened here during the ſmall time of my ſojourning in theſe quarters. I will not repeat little things: the greatneſs of thy genius, and the eminency of thy employment, have put thee far above every thing that is not extraordinary, that we ought to inform thee of nothing but tranſcending events.

I will not entertain thee with the taking of the old town of Sally, nor of the diſorders in the new. Thou wilt have learned more ſwiftly from the coaſts of Africa, advices of the hoſtile acts which the Engliſh have committed with their ſhips of war againſt that city, which the King of Morocco protects.

The attempt was great, and is diſcourſed of here as a hardy enterpriſe. The vaſtneſs of thy underſtanding will eaſily judge of the conſequence.

They ſay here, that the King of France has written to Rome, that he will willingly reſolve to make a long ceſſation of arms with his enemies. If that happens, this repoſe will ſerve but to increaſe the forces of both ſides, which may hereafter render the war more cruel. In the mean time, it is thought they deſign a general peace; but time will diſcover to the politicians what we cannot at preſent divine.

This court is great and magnificent; it ſtays not long in a place, and is very ſeldom at Paris; being in the camp amongſt the armies, or for pleaſure in the country.

The genius of the courtiers is different, but they have an equal inclination for two things very oppoſite, war and love; and apply themſelves to both with much conſtancy.

The religion which they call Proteſtant, and which has been the occaſion of ſo much diſturbance to the kingdom, is now low, by the ſurrender of Rochelle, which was, as thou knoweſt, the principal bulwark of thoſe of that party.

It ſeems this king will imitate our mighty and formidable emperors, and will regulate his conduct by thine, in not ſuffering within his ſtate two religions which are oppoſite.

The kingdom is, notwithſtanding, as yet full of trouble. Cardinal Richlieu (who holds the helm of affairs in France, as thou directeſt that of the empire of the world) ſeems, as may be ſaid, in the midſt of a tempeſt, and hath reaſon enough to apprehend danger; for there are an infinite number of people, who follow the ſtandards of Luther and Calvin, who have no other thoughts but of his ruin.

In the mean time, the power of France ſeems mighty great, and it is to be apprehended, it may in time augment infinitely.

Thou knoweſt, invincible Viſier, what the ancient Gauls did in old time. They were called Gallo-græcians; for having overrun Italy and ſacked Rome, they ſettled in the middle of Aſia, and could not be overcome but by the Romans; becauſe the heavens had ordained, that the Romans ſhould ſubjugate all nations. But now that theſe Gauls are no more, and there are no more of theſe brave Romans, we muſt pray the infinite goodneſs of the Moſt High, that the power of theſe modern Gauls may be limited. If the French, however, would do what a Spaniard, who fled from the paſſion of Philip II. counſelled Henry IV. their king, which was, to ſet himſelf right with Rome, to have a great power at ſea, and a council compoſed of wiſe, ſecret, and faithful men; by that means, he might one day, perhaps, equal the ancient Romans. I think, he that gave this advice was named Antonio Perez.

I obſerve every thing with care, but ſhall obſerve them nearer for the future. It appears to me, that the genius of this nation is to aggrandize itſelf, and extend its limits.

The French have a common ſaying, that kings having nothing above them that may limit them, God hath given the empire of the earth to the ſtrongeſt. They add, that Adam left no kingdoms to his children, but that they made them for themſelves. They glory in certain prophecies, which promiſe them the empire of the world. In relating this, I tell what they ſay, not what ought to happen. They entertain here the ſame hatred for us, as others do, when our power is formidable; but, wiſe men, who have knowledge of our hiſtory, ſpeak with more admiration of the Ottoman empire, than of that of the Romans; and if theſe laſt were reſtored by the civil wars which tore them in pieces, the other will increaſe and maintain itſelf, by the great precautions uſed to hinder them, and by the union of their forces.

Thou knoweſt more of the extent of that city of Paris, than I can tell thee. It appears to me great, and full of people; but Conſtantinople is yet greater and more populous.

Thou wilt pardon me after all, if I make not a certain judgment of a nation, which I do not yet well comprehend. However, I will aſſure thee, the French are no fools, and, I believe, never were. They do not love novelty through levity, but for reaſons of ſtate; and when they are inconſtant, it is not to do ill, but to acquire good. They are happy and unfortunate in wars, like others; but what is conſiderable, they do not combat their enemies becauſe they hate them, but in obedience to their prince, which occaſions the great diſcipline which is in their armies. And what ſeems worthy of reflection is, that they love their king by inclination; and this love produces in them, that which our attachment to the precepts of the law does in the hearts of the beſt Turks. I uſe this compariſon, which I learned from thee, who art the wiſeſt man in the world, from whoſe mouth I have heard, as from an oracle, "That it is not much material whether ſubjects love their maſter by inclination or fear, provided they always faithfully ſerve him, and are always humble."

If ever it happen I am diſcovered, thou wilt do me a great honour to let me know, if I ought to avow myſelf an agent from the Sublime Porte; or whether I ought to die without confeſſing any thing.

I end with my head in the duſt, without ever ceaſing to ſupplicate the Moſt High, that he will ſhower his continued happineſs upon thee and the empire.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1637.

VIII.—*To* Muzlu Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

This is the ſecond letter which I have written to thee. My diſpatches hitherto have not been filled with things of great importance, by reaſon I have not yet had time to learn them. I wiſh greatly to write what may pleaſe thee. Receive therefore what I offer kindly, and be perſuaded, that I fear thy cenſures, as much as if I did deſerve them.

I live here according to the inſtructions which were given me, and live eaſy enough. The country is good and fat, the men good companions, are frank, and ſeem diſcreet.

I have not as yet any acquaintance with the women, and yet it is neceſſary I find means to introduce myſelf into their companies. It is a ſex that will not pardon, when they think themſelves neglected. They are proper to diſcover things one would know, and to ſay them when one would have them publiſhed; and likewiſe, they as much penetrate into the ſecrets of hearts, as the moſt refined and ſpiritualeſt courtiers: Further, there are many of them that can conceal nothing, but what they do not know.

I frequent not the Monks, but when neceſſitated. If I ſee them, it is to ſeem devout, upon deſign of being introduced by them into the houſe of a miniſter of ſtate, when I teach his ſon the Greek language.

We muſt not expect to find here the great tranquility which is at Conſtantinople. The town is ſo full of coaches, of horſes and waggons, that the noiſe ſurpaſſes imagination. Thou wilt certainly find it ſtrange, that men who are in health, and have no ſore legs, ſhould cauſe themſelves to be drawn in an engine with four wheels: but I more wonder, to ſee theſe ſame men can reſolve to

ſuffer the inconveniency of the noiſe, and of the expence which they throw away out of vanity. The more moderate French, which do not approve of this luxury, ſay, that in the time of Henry III. there were but three coaches in Paris, whereof two were the king's: but the number is now ſo great, that they are not to be counted.

I can tell thee no more of the genius of the French, thou knoweſt it perfectly. There is in all their actions a ſpirit very delicate, and an activity like that of fire.

It ſeems as if none but they knew the ſhort duration of man's life; they do every thing with ſo much haſte, as if they had but one day to live: if they go on foot, they run; if they ride, they fly; and if they ſpeak, they eat up half their words. They love new inventions paſſionately. I can ſay nothing certain of their fidelity, though methinks we might ſuſpect ſuch, who do not read as they write, nor write as they ſpeak. They love money, which they look upon as the firſt matter, and ſecond cauſe of all things: they well nigh adore it, and that is the original ſin of all nations.

Paris ought to be deſtroyed, to enrich many cities in Europe: whence thou mayeſt comprehend her greatneſs, her traffic, how rich ſhe is, and how all ſorts of arts do flouriſh in her.

The French nobility is always ready to get on horſeback at their king's commands: and they love war ſo well, that it is to be ſuppoſed, we ſhould have enough to do with them, if we were as near them as the Spaniards, and they did not want infantry.

I ſhall hereafter obſerve every circumſtance with ſo much care, as well in this kingdom as elſewhere, that nothing ſhall eſcape me. In the mean time, I ſhall endeavour to get acquaintance; but ſhall want more money than is allowed me to anſwer what is expected from me.

Two chequins a day, are more than enough to ſupport a man that will live like a cynic, but not ſufficient to introduce me into houſes, to dive into their ſecrets, and enable me to diſcover the affairs of moſt importance, according to my commiſſion; ſo that thou muſt aſſiſt me to obtain more.

I hope to ſucceed in my employment, if thou doſt not refuſe me thy aſſiſtance, finding no difficulty in the execution of my orders, but the neceſſity of lying, when I paſs for a Chriſtian. I fancy I ſee Mahomet in a rage, and believe my ſoul loſt; though I am from my heart more faithful in my religion than all the Mahometans put together. Seeing I am reſolved to do a thing to which I have ſo much averſion, thou mayeſt be aſſured, I will bear all the evil imaginable that can happen to me with firmneſs, though in all appearance I ought to hope nothing but good.

Deliver, I beſeech thee, this encloſed letter into the hands of the moſt venerable Mufti, and extort from him, if poſſible, a ſolution of my doubts. There is nothing that touches me nearer than what regards my religion, and with my religion the ſervice of my emperor.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1637.

IX.—*To the* MUFTI, *Prince of the Religion of the Turks.*

I WILL die a true Muſſulman, though I ſhould ſee all the croſſes of the Carthaginians ſet up for my puniſhment, and had before mine eyes all the inſtruments of the moſt cruel tortures that the enemies of our holy religion could invent. But, ſeeing there is no queſtion at preſent of dying, but of living to ſerve my emperor, I beg of thee, ſovereign prelate, that thou will be pleaſed

to conſerve my innocence, in giving me an ample abſolution, or in impoſing a penance that may cancel all my crimes.

Paris hath always been the reſidence of the kings of France, whence it is, that the exerciſe of no other religion but the Chriſtian, is ſuffered there; and thoſe who acknowledge the Biſhop of Rome for their head, have the principal management of the affairs of religion; and it is with theſe, that the rites of the Latin church are more ſtrictly obſerved.

I live here, in appearance, as if I were a Chriſtian and a Catholic. I enter into their churches, aſſiſt at their ceremonies, kneel before the croſs; and I appear with great devotion and humility before the images, which are had here in veneration.

I know well enough (if the life which I lead be not permitted me, as advantageous to the affairs of ſtate, and the perſon of the Grand Signior), that I commit ſacrilege, acting as I do, contrary to the precepts of Mahomet, expreſſed in his Alcoran.

I am guilty of violating the law which is preſcribed me, and deſerve death, if thou doſt not, by approving this life I am obliged to lead, aſſure me of both my ſalvation and life. It is true, thou haſt already given me abſolution from all the falſe oaths I ſhall be neceſſitated to take, when they are for the ſervice of my maſter; but I am not aſſured this abſolution extends far enough to ſecure my conſcience, when I abuſe holy things.

It is thy province to decide this point, which is of ſuch importance to my repoſe, which makes me expect thy reſolves with impatience; if thou thinkeſt a faithful Muſſulman, who conſerves his religion in his heart, and lives, as I do, amongſt the enemies of the law, worthy this grace.

The intereſt of my conſcience obliges me to demand after what manner I ought to govern myſelf, when I ſee them, who are effectively what I ſeem to be, practiſe the ſame acts of religion.

The French will in a little time celebrate their carnival, or Shrove-tide. As ſoon as it is done, the catholics think of faſting, having firſt aſſiſted at a ceremony, where aſhes are put upon their foreheads, to make them remember "they were formed out of the duſt, and ſhall return to duſt again." It is at this time they go to hear ſermons, their prieſts explaining that which they call the goſpel, and frequent the church more than ordinary.—They apply themſelves oftener to works of piety; and having purged their conſciences by penances, and ſecret confeſſions, which one man makes to another, they eat of a certain bread, which they call The Sacrament of the Euchariſt, where, after certain words pronounced by their prieſt, they will have the body of their Meſſiah to be really preſent under thoſe apparent ſpecies.

This ceremony is an obligation that good Chriſtians cannot diſpenſe with, it being ordained by their law and by their great prelate, the Biſhop of Rome. They commonly call it Confeſſion, and communicating, and keeping Eaſter. Ought I to hazard myſelf in committing ſo horrid a ſacrilege, and tempt, as I may ſay, God by ſo great a ſuperſtition, and ſo irritate our great Prophet? It may be ſaid, perhaps, that many Jews have done the ſame thing, and do it yet every day, to preſerve themſelves more ſecurely: But how many of them have been chaſtiſed by viſible miracles from heaven, and undergone terrible puniſhments by the ordinances of the judges?

All theſe reflections trouble my ſpirit, O holy Primate of the moſt divine law. I do not think it lawful to mock the myſteries of any religion whatſoever. The

God of the Chriſtians is the ſame that we adore; but their religion is quite oppoſite to ours: There is a great difference betwixt their Jeſus crucified, with all the ignominies poſſible, as theſe infidels do believe, and a Mahomet immortal and triumphant, a great legiſlator, and the angular ſtone of the firſt empire of the world.

Give me then poſitive orders, to the end I may be eaſed of my ſcruples, and may believe that what thou permitteſt, may be an effect of thy juſtice, and not of a toleration which may be pernicious to me.

It is true, I may wave all theſe things in feigning to have done them; but it will be more advantageous for my affairs, not to exempt myſelf, if that may be without a crime.

Teach then a moſt obedient ſlave what thou ſhalt believe moſt conducible to the glory of God, and moſt profitable for the ſervice of our ſovereign lord. I do not ſend thee my doubts to puzzle thee, but to draw from thy great and ſublime genius ſuch lights as may diſſipate the darkneſs I live in.

This done, ſovereign Prelate, remember thy humble ſervant, and pray our holy Prophet, that he will keep me from periſhing.

Paris, 15th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1637.

X.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

I RECEIVED from thy hand the firſt diſpatch that has been addreſſed to me from the Sublime Porte, and I received it at the beginning of the year, according to the moons of theſe infidels. The date is of the month Mielidge. Thou ordereſt me to write to thee of two things, and to do three. Thou wilt firſt know, if this king be

aged, and of perfect health; and afterwards, if there be any hopes that the queen may have children. Thou wouldeſt alſo have me ſend his Highneſs the pictures of the King, the Cardinal of Richlieu, and the eldeſt ſon of the Prince of Conde.

As thou art one of the principal ſupports of the power of the Sublime Porte, elevated above all the thrones of the world (after the Viſier Azem, whoſe orders are the rule of the univerſe, miniſter and firſt ſlave of the happy Emperor of the Ottomans), I ought to do what thou commandeſt me.

I tell thee then, I have ſeen this king thrice, nor doth he appear by his countenance, by his hair, or by his ſhape, to be yet old; neither would it be eaſy to divine the number of his years, if we were ignorant of the day of his birth; but it is known to every body, that this prince was born the 27th of the 9th moon of the year 1601, according to the ſtyle of the Chriſtians.

By this thou mayeſt juſtly calculate the age of this monarch, who, though he is in his flower, ſeems fading, becauſe he hath as yet given no heir to his kingdom; beſides, his years being near forty, ſurpaſs that of a young man; and it is obſerved, that few princes arrive to a great age.

The queen may ſtill lie-in, if ſhe proves with child, which, if it ſhould happen, after twenty-three years of barrenneſs, it is certain, a fruit which hath been ſo long in ripening, will give an ample ſubject of reaſoning to the aſtrologers of Europe.

For my part, I fancy this king will ſcarce become a father, unleſs he repudiate this wife, and marry another.

It is not permitted to be inquiſitive into the cauſe of this ſterility. Hereby thou ſeeſt the weakneſs of thoſe Chriſtian princes, who are ſubjected to the laws of Rome,

which think it a crime to give themſelves heirs that are not born of lawful wedlock; though it often happens, that when ſuch are wanting, this kingdom is expoſed to ruin, by the diſſenſions and civil wars which on theſe occaſions are always inevitable.

The Moſt High, who hath always protected the grandeur of the Ottoman empire, hath left the infidels in theſe errors, to the end that he might give our moſt mighty monarch, who is the avenger of the divine unity, an eminence ſuperior to that of all kings, who are his ſlaves, and at the ſame time made him holy above all the ſaints in the world; and permitted us to have children, that may ſucceed us, from as many wives as we can entertain, the children of true believers being always legitimate.

I humbly beg pardon, I forgot I ſpoke to thee, who art wiſdom itſelf, and to whom no ſecrets of the law or ſtate are unknown.

I will ſend to Carcoa at Vienna, the pictures of the King, of the Prince of Conde's ſon, and of the Cardinal Richlieu, according to the orders I received from thee, and they ſhall be diſpatched in little time: I would to heaven I could as eaſily ſend thee the originals; I ſhould at one ſtroke diſarm this kingdom, which would thereby be ſuddenly involved in fire and blood.

The habit I wear, and the manner after which I live, have already gained me many friends. I find means to go once a week to court. My deformity protects me againſt the jealouſies of huſbands. Some people take me for a wiſe man, and diſcourſe confidently in my preſence of politics and affairs of ſtate; neither do I neglect the making uſe of every thing which may be advantageous to me in my miniſtry. Thus, in doing a thing, for the which I have much averſion, I compaſs all I deſire; and

I aſſure thee upon my faith, if thou wilt continue to protect me, and aſſiſt me with thy counſels, I will do ſomewhat extraordinary.

I ſupplicate the great God to give a perpetual health to thy body, and make thy ſoul enjoy upon earth, and in heaven the felicity of the bleſſed.

Paris, 1ſt of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1638.

XI.—*To* BEDREDIN, *Superior of the Convent of Derviſes of Cogny, in Natolia.*

I WRITE to thee, who art venerable by thy age, and ſo many long voyages which thou haſt made; thou who haſt been ſo many times on pilgrimage to Arabia, Tartary, Perſia, and the Indies, always barefoot, and begging out of pure devotion to the ſaint of ſaints, our great prophet Mahomet.

I addreſs this letter to thee; thee who beareſt the ſcars of five-and-twenty great wounds; thee, who haſt prayed nine-and-fifty times in the ſacred porch, and adored the holy myſteries in the moſt retired ſanctuary of Mecha, and haſt lived more than ſeventy years of religion amongſt the derviſes, where thy merit cauſed thee to be elected ſuperior of the convent in Natolia.

Thou knoweſt well that I ſerve him who is arbitrator of the deſtiny of the univerſe, I mean the Sultan, ſovereign of the world. Learn what I heard here from the mouth of Chriſtians, and pardon me, if I have not ſufficiently anſwered them; but do not accuſe me to have deſerved death, for having ſeemingly curſed our holy law, and him that gave it us; and if I have ſeemed to reject his ſucceſſors, Ali, Oſman, and Omar, it was expedient that I ſhould commit ſome evil, not to loſe the opportunity of doing much good.

Thou knoweſt well I am deſtined to ſerve; and that being abſolved from all the perjuries I ſhall commit, I may tranſgreſs the law by being permitted to lie: That ſuffices. Read my letter, and learn how far their malice does extend, who are enemies to our religion.

To inſtruct thee better in what has happened to me, I muſt tell thee, that amongſt theſe infidels, there is an order of religious much in vogue, called The Company of JESUS: wherein there is an infinite company of men, ſome more able than others in all ſorts of ſciences, ſacred and profane; and, according to appearance, ought to be very recommendable for the holineſs of their manners.

Theſe religious, who are ordinarily called Jeſuits, have the education of the youth almoſt in all the cities of Europe, as well as in the Indies; and many excellent wits are brought up in the ſeminaries they have eſtabliſhed. When they preach, the people crowd to hear their ſermons. They are the confeſſors of almoſt all the princes and monarchs of Chriſtendom, who diſcover to them their weakneſſes, their ſins, and the vices whereunto they are inclined; and receive from them, upon their knees, like ſlaves, ſuch penance as they think fit to impoſe on them.

A man may ſay of them, that being diſpenſers of penances, they are alſo the maſters of recompenſes. They are habited in a long veſt of black wool, which deſcends to their heels. They go not barefoot, but their veſtments are ſimple. They obſerve great modeſty in all their actions; they march with gravity, never go alone, and ſuffer not their beards to grow. They apply themſelves to edify the good, and to correct the bad.

The founder of this order was a ſoldier, called Ignatius. The Spaniards will have him to have been of their

nation: and the French affirm that he is of that part of Navarre, which is ſubject to the crown of France. If thou wouldeſt have me to ſpeak the truth, I think this founder was a good man, ſeeing all his diſciples are men of good example, of great modeſty in their actions, and very diſcreet in all their undertakings.

This Ignatius began to ſtudy the grammar in his ſeven-and-thirtieth year, which would make one believe he took leſs pains to become a ſaint than a ſcholar. His enemies call his diſciples, The Politicians of the Church; and I, on the contrary, call them The Camels of Eſau; becauſe, in bearing the burden of the affairs of their religion, they are loaded more than others, and forced to couch under their burdens. There is one thing ſeems ſtrange in them, to wit, that they ſhould name themſelves The Religious of the Society of JESUS; as if they had a deſign to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other Chriſtians, and that this title, which is particular to them, ought not only to agree to all the other religious, but to all the followers of the NAZARITE.

If they follow the precepts of their father Ignatius, thou muſt needs approve their way of living. He has taught no other way than that of obedience to thoſe that profeſs his order. He ordains, that thoſe who enter into this ſociety, do abandon themſelves to the diſcretion of their ſuperiors: And they affirm, that if the Pope commands them to paſs the ſea in a veſſel without oars, without ſails, and without a rudder, they would obey, and muſt paſs. And ſome having reproached them that there was folly in ſuch blind obedience, they anſwer, That wiſdom ought to be obſerved in the commandments, and that it ought not to be ſearched in obedience. Make reflections upon this ſentence, which is conformable to our laws.

To inform thee of the power and greatneſs of this order, it ſuffices to tell thee, that during ſixteen years that this ſoldier governed it, he ſaw an hundred colleges in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in Spain; and that in Rome, which was founded by Borgia, hath been, as may be ſaid, the parent of all the reſt. Judge hereby the number of their houſes and diſciples.

Having one day met with one of this ſociety who underſtood the Oriental languages, and who converſing with me, did not believe he diſcourſed with a muſſulman, I heard him vomit injurious and fearful imprecations againſt Mahomet, againſt his law, and againſt all true believers. I have ſo much horror to write to thee all he ſaid, that I will tell thee but ſome few of them; and the rather to divert thee by the knowledge of the errors of our enemies; and alſo that thou mayeſt not be amazed at ſome things not very reaſonable, which are obſerved in many of the precepts of the law which we follow.—Let this be ſaid, as if I had not ſpoken it, ſeeing I pour frankly the ſecrets of my heart into thy boſom; nowiſe doubting, but thou knoweſt to be ſilent in what may cauſe my death. This jeſuit maintains, that the muſſulmans are not wiſe in following the precepts of a drunkard, who forbade drinking of wine, and committed exceſſes himſelf, when he thought he was unobſerved. He maintains farther, that it is fooliſh to give credit to ſuch a fellow, who makes a paradiſe to conſiſt of beautiful women, where one may abandon himſelf to all ſorts of pleaſure and debauchery; and that he hath not foreſeen a hell, where he, and all his followers, ought to ſuffer the pains due to their crimes. He adds farther, that one muſt be very fooliſh to adore a blaſphemer, who hath commanded his law ſhould be maintained by the ſword, when it could not be ſupported by reaſon.

The father did not leave off ſo: he ſaid, that ſeeing the Alcoran is filled with dreams, with beſtialities, with blaſphemies and impurities, the muſties, the doctors, and interpreters of the law, muſt be in a great blindneſs not to condemn a poſſeſſed, an enchanter, who gives for the precepts of his religion, the committing of violences, robberies, and all that may ſatisfy the moſt irregular appetites. What extravagancy, urged he, to adore the heel of ſo vile a ſlave as Mahomet, and to believe, upon his report, that Jacob's father was his porter, to deify his camel, and to place it in heaven? He adds farther, that there is nothing ſo abſurd as to command the Turks to waſh their bodies, when their ſouls are defiled with filth; to give them at the ſame time charity by precept, and to command them robberies by devotion. It ſeems alſo to him fooliſh, to believe that Mahomet is the only true prophet, the only agreeable perſon to God; and to ſwear afterwards by one hundred and twenty-four thouſand prophets. He ſtill entertains me with this ſort of diſcourſe.

But all this (O great Derviſe!) is nothing; he vomits yet this damnable hereſy; that the wickedeſt wretches, and the moſt deteſtable that ever lived, were Judas, Mahomet, and Luther; that theſe two laſt, as moſt impious, are the more tormented in hell. Judas, he ſaid, ſuffered leſs pains, becauſe, if he betrayed his Lord, he was one of the inſtruments of the redemption of all mankind; whereas, the others in damning themſelves, damned alſo an infinite number of other people. This jeſuit would have continued his blaſphemies, if Cardinal Richlieu, in whoſe anti-chamber we were, had not come out of his cloſet to go to the king.

I had been ſilent all this while, becauſe he gave me not a moment's liberty to ſpeak. At length he aſked me at parting, If I was not of his ſentiments? And I anſwer-

ed preciſely thus: My father, if thou art a good man, I approve what thou ſayeſt, becauſe thou ſpeakeſt out of true zeal; but if thou beeſt a hypocrite, I diſapprove all; becauſe thou ſhalt be damned with Mahomet and all the muſſulmans.

The jeſuit ſmiled, not comprehending the venom which lay hid in my anſwer. But doſt thou not believe, thou who art a derviſe, the moſt illuminated, that a man, of what religion ſoever he be, provided he be a good man, may be happy after his death? Tell me, I pray thee, thy opinion herein; it is a point very important to be decided.

As for me, I begin really to think that there may be ſaints amongſt the Chriſtians, as there are amongſt us. I have ſeen and underſtand many things that denote true piety in ſome of them; and we muſt acknowledge, that the precepts of their law have ſomewhat of juſt; and if they be well obſerved, they ſeem no leſs holy to me than our own. They have one article that puzzles me; they affirm there is but one truth; ſo that we are loſt, if we are not Chriſtians, or they are damned, if they are not Mahometans.

And this is what I had to ſay to thee in this matter; but I ſhall not end this diſcourſe without ſome violent ſcruples of conſcience. Pray the great God with me, that he will illuminate my underſtanding with inward lights, until the man promiſed by our Holy Prophet, the man, I ſay, who ought to be born of his race, be deſcended upon the earth; who is to ſee all kings humbled in his preſence, and to unite with Jeſus the two religions, that they may make but one.

In the mean time, let us live as honeſt men, who have ſin in horror, like the plague, which poiſons the ſoul; and apply ourſelves, as much as in us lies, to what is true.

ly good; and above all things, let us carefully obſerve this precept, written in the book of their law, but is not always imprinted in their hearts, "Never do to others, no not to thy enemies, that which thou wouldſt not have done to thyſelf." A duke of Guiſe gave an example of this to all France; and it is what thou oughteſt to preach in the vaſt empire of the muſſulmans. This prince ſurpriſed a villain that would have aſſaſſinated him, who confeſſed that the intereſt of his religion (which was that of Calvin), had obliged him to form a deſign to take him away, to deliver himſelf, and thoſe of his party, from ſo great an enemy. The duke, inſtead of cauſing him to ſuffer the pains due to ſo black an enterpriſe, pardoned him, contenting himſelf to tell him, "Friend, if thy religion obliged thee to kill me, without hearing me; my religion obliges me to give thee thy life and liberty now I have heard thee: Go thy ways and amend thyſelf." This prince was then general of Charles IX.'s army.

Sage Bedredin, our Mahomet never ſhowed ſuch generous ſentiments, when he preſcribed in his law this precept againſt Chriſtians, that had never offended him.—"When you encounter the infidels, kill them, and cut off their heads, impriſon them, and keep them in chains, until they have paid their ranſoms, or until you find it requiſite to ſet them at liberty. Perſecute them until they have all ſubmitted, or are entirely overthrown."

Obſerve in this letter what may be of uſe to thee. Pardon, by friendſhip, the frank manner of writing, and remember Mahmut in thy prayers, who perſonates a Chriſtian, and is in his heart a moſt faithful muſſulman. If it be in thy power to ſuccour me, never do me any injury. God protect and govern thy great age to the laſt moment.

Paris, 28th of the 2d Moon, of the year 1638.

XII.—*To* CHIRURGI MUHAMMET, *Baſſa.*

THE queen is with child, when leaſt expected, which occaſions much joy at court, eſpecially to the king, who after ſo many years of marriage, will become a father.

Thou who haſt applied thyſelf ſo long to the ſtudies of aſtrology in the ſchools of Egypt, yet makeſt profeſſion of this divine art, which diſcovers thee things the moſt hidden to thee; who readeſt ſo learnedly in the book of heaven, whatever the ſtars have traced there; who haſt found the moment of their riſing and diſappearing, with the intervals betwixt theſe two times, and the cauſes which render their motion quicker or ſlower; thou, who penetrateſt into the moſt hidden ſecrets of men, and knoweſt the ſeaſons of famine, of ſhipwrecks, of victories, and loſs of battle: Divine in God's name, great interpreter of the ſecrets of nature, wiſer than Albumazar and Ptolemy, what will become of this impregnation; and whether it be true, that this child that is to be born, has been more than two hundred and ſeventy moons in forming.

If thou believeſt what I writ laſt to thee to be impoſſible, ſay nothing of it; it would be no credit to me to paſs for the author of a novel, that has no grounds of truth.

The city of Paris is in an inconceivable joy; and this joy is ſpread all over France. Thou mayeſt perceive by that, the paſſion of this people to ſee their king a father. It is true they have much to hope by it; but it is as certain they have yet much to apprehend, ſeeing all their hopes vaniſh in an inſtant.

Nature uſes all her power when ſhe forms a man, the moſt perfect of all creatures. But there needs but a ſlight

fall to deſtroy this workmanſhip before it is finiſhed, as well as after.

I have heard a great many people queſtion much the ſex and life of that which will be born.

All the converſation at the court, at Paris, and in all the kingdom, is no more of wars, of leagues, of peace or naval preparations; they all rowl upon the bringing-to-bed of women.

There will be other reaſoning in ſome ſmall time in Chriſtendom, and even amongſt us, if the queen do not miſcarry; France being no leſs conſiderable amongſt other kingdoms, than the Bourbons are amongſt men. Henry IV. who introduced the crown into this branch of the family, was a prince very brave; and if we live long enough to ſee his grandchildren, we ſhall ſee whether they will have as much courage as the chief of their family.

As for thee, thou wilt have wherewith to divert thee, and exerciſe thy talents, if this queen be brought-to-bed happily of a prince. I ſhall in the mean time be very exact to mark, not only the days and hours, but the leaſt minutes; to the end thou mayſt know, by the ſituation of the planets, which ordinarily regulate the inclinations of men, in what manner a prince, ſo long expected, will regulate his affairs, and conſequently thoſe of others.

It is a great while ſince we have had any commerce here with the ſun, there being forty-nine days ſince this beauteous planet appeared to us; and the cold is ſo violent, that it has changed, as I may ſay, the waters of the Siene, a large river, into cryſtal. Do not look upon theſe effects as extraordinary; it happens here frequent enough; for, when the days are ſhorteſt, the cold is moſt intenſe. Thou knoweſt that this climate is very inconſtant. I have often ſeen, in a little ſpace of time, rain,

hail, ſnow, and terrible winds; and preſently after, the air becoming fair and ſerene. This inconſtancy of the climate has its advantages: for if the fair weather do not laſt long, the foul is alſo of leſs duration.

Fail not, upon the receipt of my letter, to communicate the news I ſend thee to the Grand Viſier, without telling him the reflections which I make. They are of no uſe to ſuch great miniſters; particularly by us, who are in compariſon of them but vile ſlaves, always ſubject to the ſentences they pronounce of us.

Love me, and conſult the ſtars to know whether thou wilt be always faithful to me; and, if it be by force or inclination.

As for myſelf, I aſſure thee, that following the inclination of my heart, I will conſerve thee that fidelity which I owe by obligation.

Paris, 28th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1638.

XIII.—*To* CARCOA *at Vienna.*

THE Kaimacham commands me forthwith to ſend the pictures of the King of France, the eldeſt ſon of the Prince of Conde, and of the Cardinal Richlieu. I cauſed them ſuddenly to be copied from the originals, by an Italian painter, who paſſes for one of the beſt of theſe times.

Theſe three heads are the principal of France, if not of all Europe: The firſt, by reaſon of a great and potent kingdom, which is this day more flouriſhing than all others: The ſecond, by reaſon of his nobility or royal blood, and by his extraordinary courage: And the third, by a wiſe conduct in a miniſtry full of difficulties; being, as it were, the abſolute maſter of diſgraces and recompenſes.

As ſoon as theſe pictures are delivered to thee, whole and well conditioned, pay the expreſs I diſpatched to thee the ſum contained in the bills, which he will preſent to thee from me. That done, ſend the packet to Conſtantinople, without loſs of time, and addreſs it to the Kaimacham.

I beſeech thee order the buſineſs of my penſion ſo that I ſhall not need to deſire the payment of it. Send me preſently what is ordered me for my ſubſiſtence. Nothing in the world appears ſo terrible to me, as to be obliged to aſk.

I have only monies for ſix days, though I ſhould eat nothing but raw herbs and water. Both coſt money here; "and every thing is ſold very dear, except civilities and obliging terms, which you have for nothing, and whereof they are very liberal." I muſt live, I muſt have clothes, and go to court; for all which there muſt be bread, cloth or ſerges, and coach-hire.

Thou knoweſt at preſent my wants, ſuffer me not to languiſh with expectation. Thou wilt injure the emperor, and not Mahmut, if thou doſt not readily aſſiſt his ſlave.

The great God preſerve thy life, if thou doeſt not forget me; and give thee grace to be ſober, in a country where people do not always drink wine to quench their thirſt.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1638.

XIV.—*To* William Vospel, *a Chriſtian of Auſtria.*

I am obliged to thee for the confidence thou haſt in me in declaring to me thy loſſes. Another would have rejoiced in hearing of thy two adventures: but as I do not

believe it is a great evil to loſe a wife, ſo I cannot think it is a conſiderable good to turn monk. It is impoſſible for me to forbear telling thee, that I find thy reſolution too ſudden to approve of it. Thou art not the cauſe of the loſs thou haſt ſuffered, and yet retireſt into a convent to do penance, as if thou hadſt committed a crime.

Is it neceſſary thou torment thy body for the death of a wife, if thou haſt not murdered her? If thou didſt love her, becauſe ſhe was diſcreet, it is not impoſſible to find another as prudent. If her beauty charmed thee, there are enough that may pleaſe; but if thou wert weary of being a huſband, why art thou then of being a widower? Tell me, what wilt thou do at preſent in the convent thou art ſhut up in? The Carmelites are wiſe indeed, but know not all things. It is true, they are very devout, but not exempted from ſin: Finally, they are men, and too auſtere. How canſt thou ſo ſuddenly accuſtom thyſelf to that kind of life thou haſt choſen, and become at once chaſte and ſober? As for me, who am no Chriſtian as thou art, and more reſtrained in my pleaſures than thou haſt hitherto been, I cannot underſtand what I ſee in that order thou art entered into: neither can I figure to myſelf, how a man barefooted, without a ſhirt, covered with a coarſe habit of wool, who is no maſter of crowns, and who hath no armies, ſhould abſolutely command, not only another man, but many, who obey blindly what he requires of them.

To live well in thy order, thou muſt faſt; the leaſt faults are not pardoned; thou muſt receive offences with thanks: Finally, the combat is aſſured and conſtant, and there is but little certitude of the crown which ought to be the reward. Thy greateſt friend is obliged to betray thee, and thou wilt be deprived (as it may be ſaid) of the elements, to make thee deſire the uſe of the water,

air, earth, and fire. I cannot perſuade myſelf, that there are ſo many things required to make a ſaint; for when thou loveſt God, as much as it is in thy power to do, and paſſeſt every day, as if it were thy laſt, I believe thou wilt live and die a juſt man. Return me an anſwer, and let me know, if what I write to thee be conformable to right reaſon; or, that I am deceived in my opinion. The friendſhip I have for thee obliges me to write as I do, and to tell thee all I think that regards thee, becauſe after thou haſt taken thy laſt reſolution, I would rather ſee thee ſuffer with conſtancy all the evils imaginable, than to ſee thee change with confuſion. There are many who have abandoned with ſhame, the places which they entered in triumph; and how many have been puſhed by their deſpair to commit follies which ſeemed actions of piety, which they had never undertaken in their right wits.

We ſee in our hiſtories, that many great men have cauſed themſelves to be circumciſed, thereby to have commerce with the Jews, and be inſtructed in their doctrine, finding their ancient temple magnificent, venerable, holy, and full of majeſty. We alſo read, that Pythagoras clothed himſelf in white, and ſtaid ſome time amongſt the ſolitaries of Mount Carmel, to learn the myſteries of their religion. His curioſity was the occaſion of this great man's voyage, as their ignorance had cauſed the ſame deſign in others. It is not the deſire to be inſtructed, which made thee enter into the convent; the affliction for the loſs thou haſt ſuffered, made thee take this reſolution. Take heed of quitting it by a repentance, which would prove an exceſs of folly. The Jews are at preſent vagabonds, without law, without a kingdom, without altars; and according to the Alcoran, they will be metamorphoſed into aſſes, to carry the ſouls of the

wicked Mahometans into hell. Who knows what will become of the Carmelites? They ſay, Elias is not dead, but is to return to the earth, to combat thoſe men who ſhall riſe to trouble the world about the eſtabliſhing a new religion. Stay ſtill where thou art, or return preſently from whence thou cameſt; leſt, after too long a ſtay, to come out in ſorm, thou commit a fault that God will not eaſily pardon; which will doubtleſs happen, if thou perſuade thyſelf, that thou canſt not find the way to heaven, but out of the noiſe of the world.

If thou doſt not find I adviſe thee well, do thou better; but, above all things, govern thyſelf ſo, that God may not reproach thee one day, that a Moldavian gave thee good advice, and thou didſt neglect it. The worſt of Turks might give the ſame advice that I do, as a good Chriſtian; and it would be no ſurpriſing thing, if thou receiveſt better from a Mahometan. Theſe barbarians are ſufficiently inſtructed in morality to teach others that which they do not always practiſe themſelves. Virtue and truth are reſpected every where. Turn thee from eaſt to weſt, from the ſouth to the north, thou wilt find on all ſides impious men who blaſpheme againſt the Deity; but true virtue has that of ſingular, that ſhe is always reſpected, and even by the moſt profligate.

Conſult once again thy forces and thy courage, and take a better reſolution, if thou art not yet well fixed in thy firſt. Titus ſalutes thee out of this world; and prays heaven to give thee the pleaſures of the happy, in thy ſolitude, if thou beſt no hypocrite, and if thou haſt not yet repented of thy reſolution thou haſt taken.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1638.

XV.—*To* IBRAHIM, *who renounced the Chriſtian Religion.*

THOU haſt renounced thy religion, either to ſave thy life, or for ſome other conſideration. I do not ſay this to make thee ſcrupulous, but in quality of reſident in this kingdom, to ſerve here the Sultan emperor of both ſeas, and of the two parts of the earth, diſtributer of all crowns; the grandeur of whoſe majeſty, I beg of God, may laſt until the day of univerſal judgment. I adviſe thee to take heed, not to ſolicit thoſe infidels, whoſe religion thou haſt abandoned, to run the ſame courſe that thou haſt done.

Thou haſt written to thy brother, that he is become a beggar, becauſe he renounces his God a thouſand times at play; and that thou art at preſent very rich, for having renounced him but once, and by that thou exhorteſt him to turn Muſſulman.

I thought good to write to thee, that ſouls are not to be gained with a letter and a ſcurvy jeſt. Think of becoming a good man after thy change of religion, and give no occaſion to the Marſeillians to ſay, that thou art infamous, becauſe thou haſt renounced thy faith, and that we are all damned, becauſe we are Mahometans. If thou doſt not approve the advice I give, I ſhall be obliged to acquaint the Porte with what ſhall come to my knowledge; which I ſhall do with regret, becauſe thou mayeſt ſuffer by it.

The great God make thee rather wiſe than fortunate.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1638.

XVI.—*To* DICHEU HUSSEIN, *Baſſa.*

AS the knowledge which I ſhall have of affairs will augment daily, ſo I ſhall have the more matter to write;

and will omit no occaſion to remark what occurs, which I will not fail immediately to communicate. Thou, who with great application obſerveſt what paſſeth amongſt men, and art deſirous of knowing the moſt ſecret tranſactions of potentates; thou mayeſt obſerve, that there are more violent enmities betwixt the Chriſtian princes of Europe, than all the other princes of the world.

I cannot comprehend whence it is, that theſe infidels cannot live in peace; and, perhaps, they do not comprehend it themſelves. It ſeems a decree of heaven, that man ought to be contrary to man, and that whilſt there are kingdoms there will be wars and enmities.

The wars which are carried on at preſent in Alſace, look as if they would laſt long. The death of Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, the ſecond ſcourge of the Imperialiſts, who was ſlain ſix years ſince, did not terminate the differences of Germany; they are greater than ever; and there appears in the new generals of the armies, vaſter deſigns than thoſe in their predeceſſors. Perhaps they will revenge the death of Guſtavus, who was killed, not as the Chriſtians affirm, but by one of the forty Germans who had bound themſelves by oath never to quit their ſwords before they had ſlain him, as the Turkiſh hiſtorians do write.

Duke Barnard Weymar, of no leſs valour than Guſtavus, commands the reſt of the Swediſh army, with a good number of French troops, and many Chriſtian heretics of Germany. Victory attends the arms of this general; and the princes which are united for defence of the empire begin to apprehend a captain, who obſerves leſs the rules of war than the emotions of this valour, and whom they perceive ſeconded by fortune. But he doth not conſider, that in weakening an emperor he doth augment the forces of a king, who will enjoy the

fruits of his labours, and ſuppreſs him in ſpite of his bravery when he pleaſes. In the mean time, I am of opinion, that it is our intereſt that Weymar be always victorious. It may be ſaid of him, that he hath ſold to France all but his glory, having reſerved nothing for himſelf but hope.

All that this duke can conquer from the Germans is for the French king, who furniſhes him with troops, with arms, and with money, beſides wiſe advice. Cardinal Richlieu, who is an able ſtateſman, fails not to perſuade his maſter, that the places which Weymar ſhall take in the empire with the army which he commands, are the effects of his counſels and his majeſty's money. The French begin to preſerve their conqueſts, and know how to defend the places which are ſubject to their power.

This prince makes acquiſitions, which are in truth of more importance than they ſeem conſiderable for their greatneſs. He took Rhindfeld almoſt as ſoon as he had beſieged it. The place was ſtrong, ſeated near the Black Foreſt, where the garriſon was furniſhed with abundance of all ſorts of ammunitions.

John de Wert, general of the Imperial army, had relieved it with nine regiments of horſe and 5000 foot. He defeated Weymar's horſe, took part of his baggage and artillery. The Duke of Rohan, a great captain and great ſtateſman, was hurt, and taken fighting; and the city relieved with men, ammunition and victuals, which rendered the taking of it more glorious.

They write, that two Imperial generals, the ſaid John de Wert, which had ſuccoured Rhindfeld, Enhenfort, as alſo Duke Savelli, had been taken in a combat which preceded the rendition of the place, beſides 30 cornets and 19 foot captains. Theſe ſpoils were gained by the blood of the Swedes, and ſent to the French king; who,

after he had cauſed them to march through all the ſtreets of this great city, commanded them to be hung up in the principal church, where I ſaw and conſidered them as marks of the triumphs of policy. The ſiege of this place laſted but eighteen days.

The Duke of Weymar, after this victory, marched into the marquiſate of Durlach, where he took the caſtle of Rotelen, defended by the King of Hungary; in which he found great ſtore of proviſions, and all ſorts of ammunitions, which ſerved greatly for the refreſhing of his then needy army.

In the mean time, Duke Savelli eſcaped out of priſon, and retired to Lazerne in Switzerland. The officers that guarded him were accuſed of favouring his eſcape, which coſt them their heads.

All I write to thee is moſt true, and thou mayeſt cauſe my letters to be enregiſtered. God grant that Briſac, together with all Alſatia, may fall into the French hands, and that the Emperor of Germany be ſubjected to the law of the Oſmans. "Thou ſeeſt the time come, wherein the French make conqueſts without being preſent at them." The king of this nation appears not only happy but is ſo in reality; all things ſucceeding that he undertakes. His queen's being with child, and the cardinal's policy, puzzle the Spaniards and empire, and Italy itſelf. What will happen none knows, but God and Mahomet. It is our duty to humble ourſelves, and ſay what we ſee, and not be ſo raſh as to penetrate into the future.

Do what thou canſt by thy intrigues to augment the German loſſes, for the reaſons thou knoweſt; and particularly to facilitate the Sultan's conqueſt in Hungary. Aſſiſt, in the mean time, the poor and faithful Mahmut, not with the ſword that cuts every thing, but by good

counſel, by which we ordinarily perceive the reunion of what the ſword hath ſeparated: and I will pray the Moſt High, that all the infidels bow the knee before Amurath, and that all that breathe may enjoy their lives, but by an effect of his clemency.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XVII.—*To* Achmet Beig.

I receive none of thy letters; I receive none from the Divan; and I have none from any of my friends. Italy, where there are ſo many people proper for war, that province which hath commanded the world, is at this time troubled by the arms of France. The Pope and Venetians, who appear to have the principal intereſt there, make no advance to divert the ſtorm that threatens them. Piedmont, which belongs to the Duke of Savoy, begins to feel the incommodities that war draws always with it. That ſtate is in the midſt of the Spaniards who attack it, and the French ruin it in defending it.

Theſe laſt cannot abandon the intereſt of the houſe of Savoy, the ducheſs being their king's ſiſter, and her children his nephews. The French are already ſtrong on that ſide, having a great garriſon in Pignerol, a place very conſiderable, which they call one of the gates of Italy, whereof they have been maſters ſince the year 1631; and their power will much increaſe by the acceſſion of the fort of Breme, which may be termed a rampart, covering Cazal and Vercelle, and which alſo defends both Montferrat and Piedmont. The Marquis of Leganez, governor of Milan, having rendered himſelf maſter of the field, had laid ſiege to Breme; and Marſhal Crequi, having in the name of the king his maſter, undertaken the

defence of the young Duke of Savoy, oppoſed the deſign of the Spaniards. It is believed the war will be cruel in this quarter, being theſe are very ſtrong, and the other very expert.

Thou ſhalt know the event. In the mean time, all the affairs of the French do not appear ſo fortunate in Italy; and, at this hour that I write to thee, the court laments the loſs of the general that commanded their armies in that country.

There is certain news of the death of Marſhal Crequi, who was ſhot with a cannon bullet through the body, as he was going to view the Spaniards works before Breme. This loſs was by ſo much the more ſenſible to the French, in that they ſaw their enemies make ſuch great rejoicings at it.

All men conclude, this Crequi was both a good ſoldier and a good captain, a wiſe man, and of excellent conduct. He had acquired great reputation for the king his maſter in Italy. He ſlew Don Philip, baſtard of Savoy, who challenged him in the ſight of two armies. He ſeveral times defeated his ſovereign's enemies in Monterrat, and in Piedmont, and beat back the Duke of Feria to the gates of Milan.

There remains no more of this great man, who did ſo many brave things, but the bare remembrance of them.

Scarce any thing of his body, ſave his entrails, was left for his ſoldiers to celebrate his obſequies with. His ſoul is before the throne of God; his friends honour his memory with their elogies; his kindred mourn for him; his ſovereign praiſes him, and his ſoldiers crown his tomb with herbs and flowers.

The Italians ſay highly upon this occaſion, that Italy has been fatal to the French, and that it will be ſo always. They affirm, that the Duke of Savoy will loſe

his eſtate, if defeated by his enemies, which he will likewiſe do by the victory of his friends. But theſe are the conjectures and ordinary reaſonings of men, which I write to thee, to the end thou mayeſt not only know what is done, but alſo the diſcourſes which are entertained upon the events that happen. We ſhall ſhortly have news of the ſiege of Breme; in the mean time, it imports the French much, to conſerve the opinion had of their valour and goodneſs.

The buſineſs in hand is to defend a great and illuſtrious houſe, which moreover pretends to the ſovereignty of the kingdom of Cyprus, troubled by the ambition of kindred, and the politics of the Spaniards. Theſe engagements import much to princes, who have as many maxims as differing intereſts; but we have nothing to do with the differences of others.

May it pleaſe God, that our affairs be alway attended with an equality of good luck, for the ruin of theſe infidels. Be thou conſtant in the friendſhip thou promiſedſt me, and always faithful to thy friend, who recommends himſelf to thee, as the law obliges thee to be to thy ſovereign.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XVIII.—*To* Berber Mustapha, *Aga*.

I THIS day entertained a man which came from Italy, and hath ſerved in the French troops. He gives this account of the death of Marſhal Crequi.

The 17th of this moon, this general having approached the lines of the Spaniards to view their works, and to fight them, in caſe he judged it expedient, a cannon bullet ſeparated his body in two; and, the bullet being

taken up, they were ſurpriſed to ſee a croſs graved upon it, about which were alſo engraved letters, which made theſe two words, TO CREQUI. This bullet, the croſs and the letters, cauſed no leſs aſtoniſhment than the death of this captain did ſorrow; and every man ſpoke his ſentiments of it.

Many treat the Spaniards as magicians and ſorcerers. Thoſe who are perſuaded of the power of necromancy, affirm, that the devil can carry a bullet to the place whither it is deſigned: others are of a contrary ſentiment, and believe there is no power without the commandment of the Great God. There are others, who believe neither charms, nor characters, nor magic; who, deſpiſing all theſe ſuperſtitions, attribute all to Deſtiny; and I believe the ſame. Ahmet Celebi explains this perfectly well in his Journal, which begins in the 1026th year of our Hegira; when he affirms, that all things which paſs here below are effected by the orders of heaven, "We cannot doubt (ſays he) but the events which we ſee, are the effects of the will of God; yet we muſt believe, he ſuffers all things to happen by ſecond cauſes."

Had not Sultan Oſman irritated the Janizaries and Spahi's, by throwing them into the river alive, when he ran diſguiſed through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, and found them drinking wine in taverns: and had he not publiſhed his deſign of reforming his militia, and tranſporting the imperial ſeat elſewhere, he had not perhaps been murdered with ſo much ignominy.

God ſent him a terrible dream before his death. He thought he ſaw our great Prophet ſnatching the Alcoran, which he was then reading, out of his hand, and taking from him by force his coat of arms, and ſtriking him down with ſuch a great box on the ear, that he could not get up again. Thou knoweſt he conſulted the

aſtrologers, and interpreters of dreams thereupon. I will not report what he, who was his preceptor, ſaid, for it was plain flattery; but we ſaw, what was foretold by the aſtrologers came punctually to paſs. Theſe had foretold, that the emperor ſhould never ſee the feaſt of Ramezan, becauſe the ſtar which preſided at his birth, was much obſcured in its conjunction with the planet that was then predominant; which made them affirm, he would die in a very little time. The ignominy wherewith his death was accompanied, was an effect of deſtiny; for never any of the Oſmans ſuffered ſo much ſhame. He had ſeveral times ſeen the fatal cord about his neck without dying. A ſoldier, in charity, lent him his handkerchief to cover his head, which was without a turban.

He ſaid, all in tears, to his murderers, "Ye ſaw this morning your emperor upon the throne, and this evening you are for throwing him into a dung-cart, deſigned to carry dirt into the ſea: you cannot live always, and God will require a reaſon for this cruelty." Thou knoweſt his reſiſting of thoſe that ſtrangled him, cauſed him to ſuffer much pain. They took hold of him by the ſecret parts; and one of his ears was cut off, and carried to the Valide, who expected the news of his death. The will of God appears in this adventure; as alſo, the power of ſecond cauſes. Thou mayeſt ſee all this in the Journal of Ahmet. Had not Marſhal Crequi been in the wars, he had not perhaps ended his days by a violent death; and had he not been ſo raſh as to approach too near to the enemies works, the fatal bullet had not touched him.

We ſee hereby an effect of God's will accompanied with our conſent; becauſe we ſearch by our own choice that which we might avoid.

In the mean time, accuſe me not of ignorance or ſuperſtition, if I have been long in entertaining thee, upon

a matter in action betwixt man and the devil. Thou knoweſt that by magic art, we number the twelve ſpirits or angels, which preſide over each of the ſigns of the zodiac, which govern the nations, people, and cities committed to their care. In like manner, in the ſecret caballa of the Jews, by the twelve anagrams of the great name of God, and according to the colour of the ſtones where theſe anagrams were engraved, they judged the future; performing thereby things very aſtoniſhing. They have ſubjected our bodies to theſe twelve ſigns, and divided them into twelve principal members. But how many ſurpriſing things are done with the number ſeven, to which they have applied the ſeven planets; by means whereof they diſcover the ſecret of the good or evil fortune of men? Add to this, the invocation of ſpirits, and the power of figures, of words, of herbs, of writings, of holy characters, and ſo many other inchantments, wherewith they conſult the black angels; and thou wilt find that men do many wonders by this art, which they cannot do without ſupernatural aſſiſtance.

The little bits of paper, cut triangularwiſe, which Tockta Cham, the King of Perſia's general, cauſed to be thrown in the night round about the imperial tent of the great Viſier Aſis (in each of which there was a certain word writ) wrought more conſiderable effects, than the Spaniard's inchanted bullet, which killed Marſhal Crequi. The Ottoman army revolted the day following, as if poſſeſſed with furies. The moſt ſeditious took and bound the Viſier, and made him raiſe the ſiege of Babylon: And the King of Perſia, who had already diſmiſſed Muſtapha Aga, our envoy, with the treaty, whereby he ſurrendered this place, being advertiſed of the precipitate retreat of our army, cauſed Muſtapha to be called back, tearing the treaty he had given him in his preſence; and

bade him tell his general, he could not do ſo ſhameful an action, as to ſurrender ſo important a place to an army that was running away.

Haſt thou ever heard of any thing ſo ſtrange? Read this Ahmet Celebi's book, and thou wilt ſee, that all theſe prodigies arrived in one day. The hiſtorian makes no judgment upon this adventure, he only reports it; neither do I believe it was an effect of the enchantments of theſe bits of paper, and the characters contained in them; becauſe it is certain our army was greatly preſſed with hunger. But in effect, when Muſtapha, all in tears, reproached the Viſier, that if he had gained but two days time, he had made a peace equal to a victory; Aſis anſwered him, How couldſt thou with thy tears, retain an army poſſeſſed with all the devils of hell, and reſolved to be gone?

If thou finiſh the reading of ſo long a letter, accuſe thy patience, and reproach not me with tediouſneſs, for having writ many things to thee, worthy of being known. After the death of the French general, Breme was preſently delivered to the Spaniards, by the cowardlineſs of the governor, who incurred in time a rigorous deſtiny for it; having his head cut off at Cazal, where they had impriſoned him.

The great God preſerve thee and thine for ever; and protect thee againſt the ill-will of thoſe that do not love thee.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XIX.—*To* Murat Bassa.

The Ducheſs Dowager of Savoy finds herſelf extremely preſſed by the continual incurſions which the Spaniards

make into Piedmont: they having beſieged Vercelle, a place which covers the country on the ſide of Milan.

She herſelf appears on horſeback with great courage, being reſolved to recover what is loſt, as well as to defend the reſt, which is in ſome danger; having joined her beſt troops, with great diligence, to thoſe of France.

A Cardinal, which they call the Cardinal la Valette, commands, in the place of Marſhal Crequi, thoſe troops of France, which conſiſt of twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe.

Thou doſt not know, perhaps, what theſe cardinals are: they be the principal prieſts of the Roman church. Their profeſſion is not to command armies, though that ſometimes happens, either through want of ſage captains, which theſe infidel kings may ſometimes ſtand in need of; or for other ſecret reaſons which are not always eaſy to penetrate, and muſt be of great importance, France not wanting fit ſeculars: A Roman mufti, called Innocent IV. gave the purple habit to theſe prieſts, and obliged them to wear red hats, caps and bonnets, that this colour might always put them in mind, they ought to ſhed their blood for the ſervice of their church and religion.

I have been told, that formerly there were but five-and-twenty, and now their number is ſaid to be ſeventy-two; which is that of the diſciples of the Chriſtian Meſſiah; but they are ſeldom complete. I was deſirous of being preciſely informed what the dignity of a cardinal is; and an old phyſician, that ſeems to be an honeſt man, inſtructs me in all things that regard the religion and politics of the Chriſtians: he is ſuch an enemy to the circumciſion, that he gives often the uncleaneſt of all meats to his patients, ſuch as we think unwholeſome, and cannot be eaten without ſin.

Thou that art a ſtateſman, and obliged to aſſiſt at

council, and in the divan, ought to know more things than others, and thoſe more perfectly.

I will inform myſelf with care of the life, actions and genius of this Cardinal la Valette, to know, whether the king his maſter has any other reaſon than that of his valour and experience in war, to make uſe of a prieſt in his armies to ſhed blood and ruin people; for I never heard the muſſulmans did ever make uſe of a cheik to command the armies of the empire: beſides, they are without experience, fearful and ſuperſtitious.

The Spaniards are more powerful in infantry and cavalry, having 18,000 foot, and 5000 horſe, whereby they pretend to render themſelves maſters of Piedmont, and drive the French wholly out of Italy. The Marquis of Leganez, governor of Milan, affirms, that his king will not ſuffer the children of the late Duke of Savoy to be under the protection of ſtrangers. He ſays, that Pignerol, and other places in the power of the French, were uſurped upon the houſe of Savoy, and muſt be reſtored. They affirm, that the houſe of Auſtria will hinder the widow, her children and ſubjects from being oppreſſed.

Behold here an example of the ſingular piety of the Spaniards, in favour of a widow and her children; and on the other ſide, admire the kindneſs of the French, who fight againſt theſe ſame Spaniards, for the conſervation of that which concerns neither of them. It will be difficult to diſcover theſe ſecret myſteries. Every prince puts a value upon his reaſons, as he does upon his monies.

The Dutcheſs of Savoy came accompanied with a great number of ladies, and the greateſt of her court. She was on horſeback, at the head of all the company, both horſe and foot, and harangued the army amidſt the battalions.

She conjured, not only the captains, but even the cor-

porals and private ſoldiers, not to abandon her defence. She ſhowed all the ſentiments of grief that a perſon of courage could have, in ſeeing herſelf expoſed to loſe her eſtate, or to ſee her children, in a manner, captives; and upon this occaſion, ſhe failed not to mingle torrents of tears with the moſt charming expreſſions, which is ordinarily the ſtrongeſt eloquence of women.

The army being ſenſible of the dutcheſs's misfortune, which ſhe had repreſented with all poſſible earneſtneſs, the Cardinal Valette cauſed it to diſcamp to relieve Vercelle. He forced the Spaniards lines, and put two thouſand men into the place. The beſieged, fortified with ſuch ſuccours, made a great ſally, and much infidel blood was ſhed on both ſides. But all that the cardinal could do with his care, and the dutcheſs with her tears, could not hinder Vercelle from falling into the hands of the Spaniards. It is ſaid, that the commander of this place, and his garriſon, defended themſelves to the laſt extremity; and having no more powder or lead, they fought at puſh of pike, with ſtones, and finally, when all was gone, with their fiſts.

But this is not believed here, it being alleged, that the governor or the general, did not do their duty. The cardinal, ſay they, failed in his duty alſo; for knowing they wanted ammunition, yet he did not ſend it, though he found means to put into the place ſuch a great number of men. But the governor is blamed yet more, that did not diſcover this his neceſſity to the general.

I tell thee all theſe particulars, to inform thee of the manner how the French make war; many of whoſe overſights would coſt us our lives.

There marched out of Vercelle 4000 men bearing arms. Thence thou mayeſt judge, that our generals are

not cruel when they cauſe the heads of commanders to be taken off that behave themſelves ſoill.

The Princeſs of Mantau, who has loſt her huſband, would, they ſay, marry a prince of the Houſe of Auſtria, called the Cardinal Infant, which is an effect of the policy of the Spaniards to have a better pretence to attack Mountferrat, and drive out the French, who entered there by conſent of the Duke of Mantau, who was ſovereign thereof.

The valiant Duke of Rohan is at length dead, in a caſtle near Berne. I think I writ he was hurt and taken priſoner in the battle fought by the Swede againſt the Germans. He was in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and was very conſiderable for his erudition, valour, and experience in war. He was bred a ſoldier from his youth; was always employed in military affairs, and had often commanded armies. He ſupported by his bravery and experience, for a long time, the remains of a feeble and dying party againſt the power of the king. He was illuſtrious by the greatneſs of his houſe; and his religion was that of the Calviniſts, called the Reformed. His body was embalmed, and afterwards brought to Geneva, with great magnificence and warlike pomp. This city is the retreat of ſuch as the church of Rome calls heretics, who are all well received here; which gives great occaſion of complaint to the Pope's partizans; how reaſonably, I will not preſume to determine; but there appears to me much more ſplendour in the ceremonies of thoſe of the Catholic church, and they pretend to greater virtue and antiquity.

Theſe are the tranſactions in Italy which came to my knowledge. I will not fail to write what paſſed in Germany theſe laſt moons, as ſoon as I have the certainty of them.

Pray God the many differences and wars which are amongſt the infidels, may never end; that Italy may be humbled even to the ſtirrup of the horſe, on which rides the great emperor of the elect of God, the faithful muſſulmans; and that all Germany may adore the ſacred porch of Mecca.

I pray God ſupport thee always, that thou never fall; and ſo conduct thee, that thou never goeſt aſtray.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XX.—*To* Donzy Oglou.

THE condition I am in at preſent, makes me think of thoſe long and tedious days we paſſed together at Palermo in ſlavery. How fruitleſs were the tears which the irkſomneſs of our captivity made us ſhed? yet nothing befel us, but what is common to other men: but thou wert too young to ſupport it, and I had not experience enough of the world to conceive the unhappineſs whereunto fortune had reduced me.

Thou art at preſent at Conſtantinople, where thou haſt all thy heart can deſire; and I at Paris, where I have a thouſand things to take care for. Conſtantinople and Paris are indeed two of the greateſt cities in the world; but much differing in manner of living, clothes, language, and religion. Thou art at preſent in the midſt of pleaſures, with thy friends, children, wife, with the liberty of exerciſing thy religion, which is the true one; and that, in the moſques, which our fathers eſtabliſhed; moreover, thou art elevated in dignity. I, on the contrary, am amongſt infidels, amongſt idolaters and heretics, obliged to live with a nation much differing from ours in their inclinations and cuſtoms. Finally, I live a-

mongſt the devil's peacocks. The exceſſive liberty they give themſelves, is not ſuch as is enjoyed with true ſatisfaction of mind; ſeeing they do a thouſand things which carry repentance along with them.

The philoſophy of the Stoics, which I learned during my captivity, gave me to underſtand of what importance it is for a man to know himſelf. Thou mayeſt remember, perhaps, in the beginning of our ſlavery, that thy maſter and mine were no leſs oppoſite in their manner of living, than our geniuſes were differing.

My inquiry was after books and writings; and watching did not weary me, provided I employed it in learning ſomewhat. On the contrary, thou being always employed with different handy-works, didſt little think that Heaven had deſigned thee to wear a ſword, and conſequently to the employments of war.

How many things did we ſuffer in thoſe days, whereat we do now laugh? Thou wert always chained, and I in priſon in a den; thou wert beaten becauſe thou wouldſt not read, and I was banged to pieces becauſe I would not embroider.

The reading of Seneca could not induce me to pardon my maſter the baſtinados he gave me. That which I endured was greater than the pains which thou didſt ſuffer; I was perſecuted for the pleaſure I took in reading; and they would oblige thee to ſtudy, whereas thy inclinations were quite different from mine.

This hardſhip made me reſolve to hide myſelf in a cellar, without bread and without water. I had nothing but my Seneca with me; and I was reſolved to deliver myſelf from my ſervitude by death; ſo far had this Stoic perſuaded me not to live. "Thou art ſo near death (quoth he) and in the mean time art a ſlave." Judge the force of my temptation, by the authority of this great man.

Whilſt I was thus hid, my maſter ſearched for me in vain, in the garden, the ſtable, the kitchen, and had no leſs pains to find me than I had to hide myſelf from him. But at length I choſe the better part, which was, to live and to forgive.

My maſter owes his life to Seneca; he taught me ſo well to forget offences, that my deſpair changed into reſpect. I had no more mind to die. I felt my courage fail, and fear made me pardon my maſter. Thou hadſt no knowledge of this adventure, becauſe I went into the country, and thou waſt ranſomed whilſt I was out of Palermo. I was ſo very intent upon my ſtudies, that my maſter, vanquiſhed by my obſtinacy, gave me liberty to apply myſelf to them, being himſelf aſhamed to continue ignorant, whilſt I dreamed of nothing but of improving my mind.

In the courſe of four years and four moons, that my captivity laſted, Nero's maſter gave me the firſt tincture of morality; and after that, I went into the academies, where I writ the journal of my life. Plutarch, Livy, and Tacitus, made me forget the odious names of maſter and ſlave.

The examples of ſo many great men whoſe hiſtories we find there; of ſo many emperors, kings, captains, maſters, or ſlaves of their paſſions: ſome dead by the hands of their friends by poiſon; others by the ſword and ſurpriſe; others perſecuted by their fathers or their ſons, ſometimes by their wives, and often by their native country and ſlaves, ſo often ſaved and defended by themſelves, diſpoſed me to ſuffer patiently the ſtate whereunto I was reduced, and to acknowledge, "That the honeſt man is never a ſlave, wherever he is, when he can find his maſter within himſelf." I had time then to do a thouſand

good things, which I ſhould never have done, if I had not been in the condition I then found myſelf in.

Conſider how much we learn by books, and more yet by the diſgraces that happen to us. We ſee the ill as in a perſpective, and the good in little. Diſgraces afflict us when they happen; and good fortune when it leaves us. When I was in my houſe, I lived not at reſt, becauſe I fancied ſerving; and now I am in ſervice, I am in continual fear of not pleaſing. How many ſouls hath Amurath ſent into the other world to expect the univerſal day of judgment! And how many more will he ſend in this ſiege of Babylon, whither he goes in perſon, carrying terror with him, and forces ſufficient to deſtroy the empire of the Perſians!

He hath commanded me to obſerve the actions of the Chriſtians with all poſſible application and exactneſs, to give information of them. He will in doubtful affairs have me to write to him my own judgment, and not that of others. He will have me not to ſhorten but extend my explications; that nothing may be left that will admit of a double interpretation, and will rather have me tedious than appear eloquent by the conciſeneſs of my relations. He orders me to receive the advices of Carcon, who is at Vienna, and to inform Adonai the Jew, who reſides at Genoa, in what is neceſſary, to the end that all that paſſes in Germany, Italy and France, may be diſpatched to the miniſters of the Divan.

The ſecretary of ſtate, as maſter of all that is written, has orders to enregiſter my letters, and examine them. He, according to his capriciouſneſs, or ignorance, may render the exactneſs wherewith I obey criminal, by ſaying, "I am a fool, or do not write the truth." This regiſtering puts me in pain; for as many mean things may appear very good at firſt ſight, and are often commended

becauſe of their novelty; ſo they may appear alſo very deſpicable when they come to be examined, and may deſerve a check.

I tell thee what I have reaſon to fear, without telling thee thoſe things which might raiſe a belief in thee that I have reaſon to hope.

Our ſovereigns are mighty, and they diſtinguiſh themſelves from all the potentates of the world, by the impetuouſneſs wherewith they give their orders: and there is no empire where puniſhments and rewards work ſo great effects. Thou knoweſt the reſt, which is ſuperfluous to tell thee, and which princes do not willingly hear.

Explain to me better the news I heard of Muſſuladdin Aga, of an action of juſtice of old Berber.

He writ to me, that a creditor to whom he owed for a ſhirt, being dead, he had put the price into the deceaſed's hand, and went his ways. This new way of paying debts ſeems very extraordinary to me. There is an author, whether Greek or Latin, I have forgot, which tells another adventure, not unlike this, of a man, who, not finding his ſhoemaker alive, threw the price of the ſhoes he had made him into his ſhop. If theſe actions be not done for oſtentation, they ſeem virtuous; but if out of vanity, I cannot believe that our negligence to pay our creditors, whilſt alive, can be excuſed by the care we take to pay them after their death.

The dead want nothing in the other world; they are living that have need of ſupplies in this, and who ſuffer ſometimes very much, when they are not punctually paid. The ancients could never ſufficiently deſcribe the exceſs which men committed by their paſſions, and the moderns do it as little. They are juſt ſometimes even to ſuperſtition, and ſometimes unjuſt even to exceſs. Sultan Muſtapha's charity for the poor was very great. He was

not ſatisfied, according to the precepts of Pythagoras, to give life to beaſts; his ſimplicity went yet farther, not precedented by any prince or ſaint; he threw pieces of gold to the fiſhes, in ponds and rivers, alleging for his reaſon, that the moſt ſecret alms were the moſt agreeable to God, and that theſe animals would never tell of it.

Thou wilt anſwer me when thou haſt time and convenience. God give thee the ſuccour which is neceſſary for thee; and let our Great Prophet be always favourable to thee.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXI.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

My laſt letters ſhow what happened in Italy, on the ſide of Piedmont, which thou mayſt have ſeen at the Divan.

I have informed the council what the infidels have done there, where three different nations, which have but one religion, fight together: The French make war upon the Spaniards, to aſſiſt the Savoyards; and theſe latter would drive the other out of Italy, and reduce Savoy under their power, which does what it can to avoid the yoke of both theſe nations.

It is to be feared that new troubles may ariſe from this war; which will undoubtedly happen, if it be not ſuddenly terminated by a peace. I will only write to thee what I know, and perhaps what is not come to thy knowledge. I will not repeat what I have already written, becauſe my letters paſs ſecurely, by the good order which thou haſt taken.

The different intereſts of the princes of Italy, occaſion ſmall intelligence betwixt them. As their eſtates are ſeparated, the one from the other, ſo they are divided

by their maxims, their intereſts, and pretenſions. They have, however, but one religion, which they make to ſerve for a pretext to their deſigns, which are all different; and there is not one of them which wholly minds his religion, which can have but one only end.

There are few that can ſuffer the conqueſts of the French in Italy, becauſe that nation ſeems reſtleſs, and men would not ſee the Spaniards more powerful than they are, becauſe they play too much the maſters. But, however, as the leaſt of theſe princes have their particular inclinations and ſecret intereſts with theſe two nations; thou art ignorant of thoſe of the republic of Genoa with the Spaniards, with whom they have ſtrong alliances: But peradventure thou haſt not been informed of a conſpiracy, which appears to have been carried on in that city, to introduce the Spaniards into it, which the republic will in nowiſe ſuffer.

The ſaid conſpiracy is thus related: The Marquis of Monterey having finiſhed the time of his government of Naples, and being embarked with ſome galleys, for his return into Spain, came incognito into Genoa, having had a conference in a village near the town with ſome of the conſpirators, to render himſelf maſter of the port, and afterwards built a citadel upon the higheſt ſide of the Far. Some of the moſt qualified were to open one of the gates by night, and receive the troops that ſhould be diſbarked out of the galleys. The Marquis of Leganez, governor of Milan, promiſed to ſend to Genoa a chain of ſlaves, ſtronger and more numerous than ordinary, which, inſtead of conſiſting of condemned criminals, who was to be compoſed of the braveſt officers of Milan; and ſome nobles of the accomplices, who were to ſhare in the treaty, were to receive the troops, and come armed for the effecting of the enterpriſe.

After a deſign ſo well laid, the Spaniards were ready to execute ſo hardy an undertaking; when the republic, being ſuddenly advertiſed of the plot, cauſed it to miſcarry, without noiſe, by redoubling the guards, which did not a little ſurpriſe the conſpirators.

Cardinal Richlieu's creatures give out, that one Doria, called their prince, did diſſuade, or hinder the plot, which was profitable for Italy, but contrary to our intereſts; for thence undoubtedly had ſprung a war, which would never have had end, whether betwixt the ſubjects of this commonwealth, who would have ruined each other, or France and Spain; and thou wilt alſo find, that in preferring the liberty of their country, and keeping the Spaniards at a diſtance, they will maintain themſelves ſtill in a condition advantageous for the commonwealth, and neceſſary to the crown of Spain.

They ſay, that the conſtancy of Doria hath acquired the honour of having twice ſaved the liberty of his country.

This Doria is deſcended from Andrew Doria, that great captain who did ſo many brave actions againſt our nation, commanding the maritime armies of Charles V. Emperor of Germany; and ſince thoſe of Philip II. his ſon, King of Spain, and who often combated the invincible Ariaden.

I do not believe that Adonai, who was at Genoa, hath writ this adventure to thee, either becauſe it may not be true, or becauſe the thing being very ſecret, it was in a manner ſtifled as ſoon as diſcovered.

If thou wilt know the particular reaſonings made upon this occaſion, I will tell thee: That the moſt adviſed French believe, that the Spaniards did attempt ſo fair a blow; but that the two parties in the city, the one to preſerve their liberty, and the other to maintain their authority, did both avoid the concluſion.

The diſcourſe is at preſent various concerning this republic; and the French do as much endeavour to make ſecret treaties with it, as the Spaniards to hinder its change of maſters; it being always of great advantage to ſuch who have pretences in Italy to be in good correſpondence with this place, which may be termed the principal port.

The French make a great noiſe with their pretences upon Genoa; and they at preſent revive many ancient hiſtories. They affirm, that the Genoeſe, when they had differences amongſt themſelves, have oftentimes changed their laws and their maſters; and that they have been ſubjected to ſtrange powers: that two Charles's, one Lewis, and Francis I. all kings of France, have taken them into their protection, having alſo ſubdued them by force of arms. They add, that this Francis I. continued a great while to ſend them governors; and that it was by the valour and reſolution of Doria, that this republic recovered its firſt liberty.

Theſe are the diſcourſes that people make at Paris, the entertainment of idle perſons, as alſo of our politicians. It will be a hard matter to tell what the king thinks, and what are the ſentiments of his council.

Conſider in the mean time, with what impudence people diſcourſe here; they preſume to decide affairs of ſtate; they decide and accommodate differences; they ſupport and ruin commonwealths and kingdoms. But this is no new thing, the people in all times having taken the liberty to cenſure the actions of ſovereigns.

It is not for enlarging my letter, that I write theſe particulars of the hiſtory of Genoa; but being an ancient nation, which hath formerly wearied the courage of the Romans by their enterpriſes and oppoſition, and have performed upon our ſeas great and noble actions: The Oſmans have her therefore in conſideration; and the ra-

ther becauſe we poſſeſs many countries, and conſiderable places that were under their dominion in Aſia Minor, upon the Black Sea, and in the Archipelago.

I ſhall ever recommend all thy words and actions to Almighty God, and pray him to hinder thee from falling into error, and to proſper all thy undertakings.

Paris, 24th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXII.—*To the ſame.*

Henry of Bourbon, firſt prince of the blood of France, marching by Bourdeaux, came upon the frontiers of Spain, where he beſieged Fontarabia, ſtrongly ſeated upon the brink of the ocean. His army is made up of twelve thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe. The two nations have had ſeveral encounters and ſkirmiſhes, wherein the loſs and gain have been equal on land.

But the Spaniſh affairs go ſo ill at ſea, that thou wilt wonder at the great loſſes they received there. The French have burnt two galleons upon the ſtocks, that were making, and ſix others entirely finiſhed, which had not been yet at ſea. They have farther taken eleven great ſhips, whereof ſix were richly laden for the Indies; beſides the equipage and munitions of war; with two old galleons that were of no great uſe. They farther took a prodigious number of cannons, which lay upon the ſhore, 100 whereof were braſs, all with the arms of Auſtria.

If all this I write be true, as I verily believe it is, we may ſay, that this prize, were there no more than a hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance, was no mean purchaſe.

I ſay nothing of the great quantity of artillery mounted upon the ſhips and galleons, for fear of troubling thee with the news of ſo great a victory, wherein the French

gained ſo many veſſels, and ſuch great riches as will ſuffice to equip a great fleet.

The prince beſieges the place and preſſes it; but the Spaniards defend themſelves bravely, and much blood will be ſhed there.

The prieſt of Bourdeaux, which theſe infidels call the archbiſhop, was come thither with ſixty ſail; whereof forty-two are men of war, and the reſt attenders; with ſome fireſhips, filled with bituminous matter; which inflames eaſily, to burn the enemy's ſhips where they can come at them; ſo that there is nothing wanting in the armies by ſea or land.

This Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux makes more noiſe at preſent than the pope; and it is credible that what he has done, will gain him great favour with his king.

He has, with as much courage, inveſted fourteen gallies and four frigates, which came from the neighbouring ports to the relief of Fontarabia, with three thouſand natural Spaniards.

He fought ſix hours together with this new army, which he entirely defeated, having burnt and ſunk all theſe ſhips, except one galley, which was ſtranded and rendered uſeleſs. The Admiral of Spain, with eight hundred men, was blown up; which was no ſmall misfortune to the Spaniards, who loſt upon this occaſion a great number of ſoldiers and ſeamen: and it is believed they will not be able to appear before their enemies at ſea this great while.

If ſo many loſſes ſuffered by a party, are not advantageous to the Grand Signior, becauſe the other is grown ſo much the ſtronger thereby, he will however gain this benefit by it, that the French and Spaniſh being both enemies to our nation and religion, our affairs will be in greater ſecurity, when of two enemies we ſee one ſuppreſſed.

The French publiſh by their joy and continual feaſtings, the advantage they receive from theſe ſucceſſes. And theſe infidels have reaſon to rejoice, their victory having all the agreements poſſible; it is indeed great, and their loſs very inconſiderable.

They ſay there were but twelve of the ſhips of France diſordered, and that they loſt not above a hundred ſeamen, and very few officers. Here hath been made a large relation of this victory; and it is engraven in copper, to the end it may be made public in all its particulars, and the memory of it conſerved to future ages. Since the loſs of the armado, ſurnamed the Invincible, which Philip II. ſent into England, in the year 1588, to make war upon a woman, we have not known that Spain has ſuffered ſo great a loſs.

This is the only news I can tell thee at preſent. So many armies as are in continual action, will furniſh matter enough hereafter to divert thee, by reciting the follies of theſe infidels, who ſeem to deſtroy themſelves daily, and ruin their affairs to gratify us by their defeats, and make us triumph.

Paris, 17th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXIII.—*To* Ayis, *Baſſa.*

If thou always followeſt thy inclination, and thy natural honeſty, thou wilt be indefatigable in faithfully ſerving the ſultan, and thou wilt not be averſe to him that eſteems thee, and loves thee.

Read what I write to thee, and publiſh it when thou haſt read it, that the council may know, that it is reſolved at the diet held at Stockholm, the reſidence of the King of Sweden, to continue the war againſt Auſtria;

and that the Duke of Weymar, and the General Banmer, begin already to combat the Imperialiſts. Thou wilt ſee Spain and Germany attacked on ſo many ſides, and by ſuch powerful enemies, that it is credible there may happen ſuch vaſt loſſes to all theſe Chriſtians, that the true believers will have occaſion to rejoice, and to hope yet the aggrandizing of the great and moſt mighty king of kings Sultan Amurath, maſter, and abſolute ſovereign of both ſeas, and vanquiſher of all nations.

This king hath ſent an army into Picardy, under the command of Marſhal Chatillon, to beſiege St. Omer, a very ſtrong place in Artois, belonging to the Spaniards; ſeveral villages and towns of conſideration being already burnt and pillaged.

The faithful ſlave Mahmut ſalutes thee; gives thee a friendly kiſs, and wiſhes thee all ſort of proſperity.

Paris, 24th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXIV.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE King of France hath ſent forth another army. I have already informed thee, that this prince hath already three armies in three parts of Europe. There is one in Piedmont, commanded by Cardinal la Valette; another, whereof Prince Henry of Conde is generaliſſimo, which they hope will quickly take Fontarabia; and another commanded by Marſhal Chatillon, which beſieges Saint Omer.

The Duke of Longueville is at the head of the fourth, which is entered into Burgundy, with deſign to ruin the French county, defended by Duke Charles of Lorrain, one of the Emperor's generals.

So many armies, and ſo many captains march againſt

the Spaniards. This nation ſufficiently manifeſts her force. She is attacked on all ſides, and reſiſts and defends herſelf on all ſides. This vaſt extent of countries, which the Auſtrians poſſeſs, though ſeparated from each other, is the reaſon that they are always employed in defending themſelves; but they will be eternally expoſed to loſs, without any appearance of gain.

Thou knoweſt that the true ſecret of preſerving union amongſt the good, is to entertain perpetual differences amongſt the bad; and thou wilt ſee, that all the adventures of this country will render us invincible. What I tell thee is a true ſaying. The French at preſent are too powerful, with ſo many troops, ſo many armies by ſea and land, which are ſeen in the provinces of their enemies.

The other Chriſtians are in continual apprehenſions. The ambaſſadors of princes, who reſide in this town and court, obſerve with great diligence ſo many extraordinary things, but ſay nothing; they do, like me, they write and advertiſe their maſters.

I am afraid thou wilt take no pleaſure in the relations I make thee of the ſucceſſes of ſo great a power; but I ought to let thee know the truth. Affairs are carried on here with much art. The miniſters ſerve with great fidelity, and are very ſecret. Cardinal Richlieu hath an entire aſcendant over the king's ſpirit; and to ſay truth, is a perſon of great merit. They ſay he aſpires to true glory, and will place the crown which Charlemagne wore, as emperor of the weſt, upon his maſter's head. If the good fortune of France marches always at this rate, the misfortunes of its enemies muſt be exceſſive.

The manifold wars which this monarch undertakes, and Richlieu counſels him, do in the mean time make the people (who bear the burden, by the taxes which they are forced to pay), murmur; beſides their grief for the loſs of their parents and friends ſlain in theſe wars.

The cardinal fears peace, and apprehends his enemies may deſtroy him, if they have leiſure to cabal againſt him. Thus he finds his intereſt in the war, and the armies ſupport his authority.

I cannot yet make any certain judgment of him, nor have a perfect knowledge of his manners, no more than of the extent of his genius, becauſe the man hides many things during his life with a dreſs, which will be diſcovered when he dies. We cannot ſee which are his good inclinations, and it is not eaſy to penetrate into a diſcovery of the vices which he is inclined to.

In few words, he has much contributed to the peace of France, divided by diverſity of religion. He hath ſuccoured Italy, and manifeſted there the power of the king his ſovereign; has weakened the empire of Germany, by the war he hath carried into her boſom by the joint forces of the princes of the north, and them of France at once; and no leſs weakened the power of the king of Spain.

Thou that knoweſt every thing that paſſes, and haſt intelligence from all parts of the world, canſt truly judge of affairs; which makes thee know and foreſee all that may prejudice the formidable empire of the Muſſulmans.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXV.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

All is in peace here, the war being carried on abroad. The court continues to make vows for the queen's health and happy delivery. They ſeem not ſo much concerned for the king's welfare as the queen's; every body being perſuaded that the happineſs of France depends on her ſafe delivery.

I writ to Chirurgi Muhamet, that he ſhould mention the queen's being with child as a doubtful thing, and which might vaniſh; but at preſent it is moſt certain; for ſhe will ſhortly be brought-to-bed. She lives in great repoſe for fear of hurting herſelf; ſhe ſcarce ſtirs out of her bed-chamber, and every body endeavours to pleaſe her.

There is news from Provence, of the arreſting of a king's ſon by that governor. The priſoner is brother to Uladiſlaus king of Poland.

It is ſaid that the King of Spain had made Prince Caſimir viceroy of Portugal, in recompence of the troops of coſſacks he had formerly raiſed to defend the county of Burgundy. They add, that being embarked at Genoa, upon one of the gallies of that republic, for Spain, to take poſſeſſion of the ſaid charge, with a ſmall train of domeſtics, and count Koniekpolſki, who called himſelf Uladiſlaus's ambaſſador, with the Marquis of Gonzague, his kinſman, being arrived in Provence, and viſiting with care all the ports and fortreſſes, this gave no ſmall cauſe of ſuſpicion to the French. He ſtaid four days privately in Marſeilles; but his galley was arreſted at Bouc, the laſt port of France, by orders of the king.

It is not yet known what obliged France to make a perſon of his quality priſoner, having nothing to do with Poland; and King Louis XIII. having no particular pique againſt Prince Caſimir: But the ſecrets of ſtate being only known to them that govern kingdoms, I pretend to penetrate no farther, but content myſelf to write what they do, and what they ſay. Thou, who in the abſence of the Viſier Azem, art the glory of his highneſs's council, art beſt able to diſcover the reaſon of ſo extraordinary a novelty.

The moſt knowing perſons at court ſay, this priſoner will ſuddenly be ſet at liberty; and that having no war

that may authorise his detention, it would be unjust to detain him.

The event will teach me, who am ignorant, and them that would divine, that which perhaps nobody knows at present. May it please the great God, master and sovereign moderator of all things, that the intelligences and guesses which I give, may always be profitable and agreeable; and that thy life may be of eternal duration, for the happiness of our great emperor and his empire.

Thou shalt suddenly know whether Prince Casimir be retained longer in prison, or set at liberty. I would that King Uladislaus were in the same misfortune in the hands of the janizaries; and that he, as well as his kingdom, were slaves to the invincible Sultan, king of kings; to whose power may it please the Divine Goodness, and the wisest of his prophets, to subject all the countries of the infidels, and then to place him with his wives and all the prophets in his paradise.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXVI.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

HAVING given thee an account of the imprisonment of Casimir, I will relate to thee the voyage of King Uladislaus, his brother, who is gone a progress into Hungary and Germany.

The news here is, that the King of Poland was gone to make a visit to the King of Hungary; who, to do him honour, sent the chief of his nobles to receive him upon the confines of Moravia.

They write also, that Archduke Leopold went from Vienna to meet him: they embraced like brethren; and returned together with the Queen of Poland and her

ſiſter back to court. It is added, that the people received this company with great acclammations, with the noiſe of the cannon, and all the ſmall ſhot of the city.

The day following, having dined in the Imperial palace, they went together to Luxemburgh to viſit the Empreſs Eleanor, widow to the late emperor of Germany.

If Carcoa hath not informed thee of theſe particulars, thou wilt receive them from Mahmut, who watches inceſſantly to give true intelligence, and penetrate as much as may be, into all that occurs and is done in this great court, which gives motion to all the courts of Europe.

Reprove me if I do not well, and puniſh me if the emperor be not well ſerved, and thou ſatisfied.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXVII.—*To* Kerker Hassan, *Baſſa.*

Do not accuſe me of being ill-adviſed or negligent, if I write to thee things that thou knoweſt already. I am only careful in telling thee what happens here, and my buſineſs is not to inquire whether thou art better informed another way. When I am ordered to write all that comes to my knowledge, I do my duty in doing it, and I ought not to be reprehended for it.

I am told that the Sultan is gone with an army, more numerous than all the leaves on the trees, to deſtroy the *Red-Heads* *, and conquer Babylon; I know that the mufti, the grand vifier, and all the grandees of the divan followed him; but I am ignorant of what he did in his firſt expedition when he took Revan.

An old Engliſh merchant, who comes from Iſpahan, and has ſerved in the army of the faithful muſſulmans,

* Perſians.

paſſed this way in his return to England. He hath been an eye-witneſs of the great actions of Amurath. He ſays, that this mighty emperor, after his taking of Revan, left twelve thouſand ſoldiers in garriſon there; with two hundred thouſand crowns in ſilver, beſides copper money, to pay them.

He ſaith alſo, that our mighty monarch, being wearied to ſee ſo much blood of the faithful, yea, of the heretic muſſulmans ſpilled, he had ſent the King of Perſia a challenge, offering to fight ſingly in duel with him; but he would not accept of his defy.

He tells how Amurath being fallen into the water, in paſſing the river Haret, was in great hazard of being laid up in expectation of the laſt judgment-day in the other world, had it not been for a young luſty Solack, who took him by the arm, and dragged him out of the river. This accident was the prelude of a great good fortune, which happened to this mighty prince upon the bank of another river, called Mako, where he had the news of the birth of a ſon, born to him in the ſeraglio at Conſtantinople, whom they call Alaaddin; whoſe nativity hath been celebrated with infinite demonſtrations of joy.

This Engliſhman tells us farther, that Amurath has taken Tauris, and appeared publicly there with all the marks of a formidable power; that he had deſtroyed the King of Perſia's ſeraglio, burnt the public markets, and cauſed a million of fine trees, which renders the loſs irreparable, to be cut down.

Let me know, when thou art at leiſure, whether this news be true, and do me the favour to tell me our great emperor's ſucceſs in the expedition of Babylon. The politicians here attend the news of it with much impatience. It is allowed that Amurath is the moſt potent of all princes, the ſtrongeſt man alive, and that only he can vanquiſh and ruin the kings of the earth.

Two ſtrangers of different nations, and both of royal blood, are dead in this city. The one is Don Chriſtopher, ſon of Don Antonio, King of Portugal; who, after he had lived ſixty-ſix years, without ever attaining the crown of his father, died in a convent of derviſes, called Cordeliers, where he was buried, in the ſame place where his father's brother had been formerly.

The other ſtranger was called Zaga Chriſtos, who was the legitimate ſucceſſor of the kingdom of Ethiopia; a young man of twenty-five years, ſon to the Empreſs Nazarenne, widow of Jacob, Emperor of the Abyſſines, who died in a village near Paris. He quitted his kingdom, as thou knoweſt, forced by civil wars, and arrived in France in the year 1635 of the hegira of the Chriſtians. After many adventures he compoſed the Hiſtory of his Travels, which he performed with troubles and incommodities which ſeemed inſupportable.

What has he not ſuffered in traverſing many kingdoms, Arabia the Deſart, Egypt, Aſia Minor, and Jeruſalem, where he ran the hazard of being arreſted by the Baſſa that reſides there, whom he eſcaped, by retiring by night to Nazareth, amongſt the Chriſtian derviſes, where he concealed himſelf five moons.

He ſaid here, that an eunuch of the Baſſa of Cairo, had much ſolicited him to forſake the Chriſtian religion, to which he would never conſent; and refuſed to go to Conſtantinople to humble himſelf by proſtrating his face in the duſt of the Grand Signior's feet; although the baſſa extremely preſſed him to it, with very advantageous offers.

This king has done much honour to the manes of the dead prince, whilſt perhaps he ſuffers everlaſting torments; which neither thou nor I ſhall ſuffer, if we always live like faithful muſſulmans, according to the precepts of the law, ordained by Mahomet, and written in the Alcoran.

ſhall gladly hear that thy life is ſafe, and my friendſhip agreeable to thee.

Paris, 20th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXVIII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THAT which hath been ſo long expected, is at length happened: The queen is brought-to-bed of a dauphin; the king is a father, the kingdom ſeems to deſire nothing more, and the people witneſs their joy by a thouſand different feſtivities.

The men, the women, the children and the aged, run through the ſtreets as at bacchanals.

They rejoice with their friends, they go to church, and thank God, as if a Meſſiah had been born to them.

All the prieſts praiſe God in their temples for ſuch a preſent; and the monks, not ſo content, deafen the people with the noiſe of their bells, and do more than the drums and trumpets of the ſoldiers, and all the cannon of the citadel and arſenal. I did in company of others, what I ſhould not have dared to perform if I had been alone, or had not been obſerved.

Thoſe who affirmed the queen would be brought-to-bed of a ſon, pretend now they had been advertiſed by ſome divine revelation, and will paſs for prophets; and amongſt theſe there are many religious. Obſerve how far their ſuperſtition extends.

The court has diſpatched many expreſſes into all the provinces of France, and others have been ſent to all the ambaſſadors, to give notice of this birth to their reſpective princes.

A prieſt, who is a biſhop, hath baptized this child without any ceremony, in preſence of the Chancellor of France,

the princes, princeſſes, and grandees of the kingdom; the further ſolemnity being reſerved for another time.

The king commanded *Te Deum* to be publicly ſung, being the hymn which is uſual to all Chriſtians, to thank God for extraordinary ſucceſſes.

Nothing is ſeen in the ſtreets of Paris but bonefires, and fountains of wine, which run day and night.

The people teſtify their joy; and the fires are ſo great on all ſides, that it looks as if the city were to be reduced to aſhes.

Amongſt ſo many ſubjects of joy, the king has wherewith to afflict him, having been for ſome days tormented with a violent tertian ague; and it cannot be but he muſt have his ſpirits agitated with ſo many wars at once. He has armies againſt Spain, in Flanders, Italy, Burgundy, and the empire in Germany; without mentioning his naval forces, and the deſigns and pretenſions which he doth not yet declare. Thou mayeſt be confident that leagues will be formed againſt him, and conſpiracies againſt his ſtate. The great ones of the kingdom are not aſleep; having long ſince had deſigns to humble the favourites and miniſters, whoſe deportments diſpleaſed them, and to make themſelves maſters of affairs and the government.

I have a piece of news to tell thee; but receive it as coming from a woman, not Mahmut. I ſeldom ſend that for aſſured, which in appearance is not truth. What I am going to ſay will undoubtedly ſeem ridiculous.

The women give out that the dauphin has teeth, and the nurſes will witneſs it. Thoſe who eaſily believe wonders, publiſh this as a moſt certain truth. The people who add faith to the moſt incredible things, raiſe ſtories upon this, and are full of pretended auguries.

But there being no law that obliges us to believe that

which we find incredible, thou mayeſt therefore receive this news as thou pleaſeſt, and look upon it as uſeleſs, and excuſe me.

They give the king the title of Saint, which they add to that of Juſt, becauſe of his great piety, in devoting his ſon, before he was born, to the Virgin (which the Chriſtians ſay is the mother of their Meſſiah), with his kingdom, people, and perſon, which he hath put under the protection of the mother of his God; which he has made appear by prayers, proceſſions, and extraordinary alms.

This ceremony is ordinary enough with theſe infidels; who, by an inexcuſable idolatry, devote their towns, and dedicate their temples to men that are dead, whom they call ſaints; worſhipping them afterwards upon their altars, and invoking them in their diſtreſs.

I have nothing more at preſent to write to thee: God give thee always the grace to be juſt to thyſelf and others.

Paris, 16th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1638.

XXIX.—*To the Captain* Bassa.

The birth of the Dauphin of France happened this month, whereof I forthwith advertiſed the Kaimacham. I find myſelf in a great city where they feaſt continually, to teſtify the love they have for the king, the queen, the young prince, and the ſtate.

Joy ſpreads equally: the moſt miſerable, to whom fortune has given nothing but tears, do now divert themſelves.

The women rejoice yet moſt; and it ſeems this adventure regards them principally. There is not one of

them that would not lie-in; all the maids would be mothers, and the moſt advanced in years do not now deſpair.

It ſeems here, that God only hears the prayers of the French; for they believe the queen had never been with child, if the people were not holy. Thus all believe, that they owe it to a miracle of heaven, not of nature, that the child is born, and for that reaſon he is called Given of God.

If this be ſo, thou muſt conclude this prince will be very great, and much to be redoubted, who hath God for his father, and is heir of a great kingdom. To ſay the truth, France was never ſo flouriſhing, beſides the great armies they entertain by ſea and land.

But that which appears moſt important to me is, their vanquiſhing the Hugonots, and defeating the rebels. The birth of a ſucceſſor does much heighten theſe advantages, and cauſes a great happineſs to this kingdom. I have my ſhare in the feaſting, being obliged to do as others: For to what purpoſe ſhould I appear afflicted?

Before I relate to thee a bloody combat of galleys, which was fought in the ſea of Genoa, I will inform thee of a ludicrous one in that of Marſeilles, which reſembled thoſe ſpectacles the ancient Romans exhibited with ſo much pomp and magnificence, called Naumachies.

The Count of Alais, governor of Provence, cauſed four galleys, two againſt two, to combat, firſt with cannon, and afterwards with ſmall ſhot; and laſtly, to board with ſwords and pikes, which was a fatal preſage for two nations, who ran in ſearch of each other through all the ocean, and exhibited a ſad ſpectacle by battles, where a number of valiant men were ſeen to periſh.

Five-and-twenty Spaniſh galleys appeared on the coaſts

of Provence, where it was ſaid they were come to ſurpriſe ſome maritime place. But the Count of Harcourt, general of the armies of the Levant for the king, having given them chace, ſome of them retired to the coaſts of Genoa, where they were attacked by a like number of thoſe of France, which had ſtill followed them ſince they were ſeen before Marſeilles.

It was the firſt of this moon that they fought. Never appeared more valour; never was a combat more terrible; and it is ſcarce conceivable what blood was ſhed. Thou who art a great captain, and excellent ſeaman, mayeſt eaſily gueſs.

Theſe thirty galleys having begun their combat with their cannon and muſkets, the ſea was in a little time coloured with blood, and covered with dead bodies. Each galley having ſingled out his enemy, the fight was the more bloody and obſtinate. It is ſaid this battle was ſeen from the walls and tops of houſes in Genoa, which were crowded with ſpectators, and looked on with the ſame concern as if they had fought for the empire of Italy.

The victory coſt much blood; which the French pretended to, ſeeing they took ſix galleys from their enemies, amongſt which was the Royal Patron of Spain, the Captain, and the Patron of Sicily, with eight hundred priſoners; having themſelves loſt but three galleys, which were taken by the Spaniards. The following night there aroſe ſo violent a tempeſt, that the ſea had well nigh ſwallowed the victorious and the vanquiſhed. The French loſt the Royal Patron of Spain, which breaking looſe, retired into a little port of the river of Genoa, where the inhabitants of Arenzano ſeizing it, reſtored it to the Spaniards, which, they ſay here, the French will not fail to revenge.

I am perſuaded that all I write to thee is true, becauſe

I have it from diſintereſted hands, and ſuch as know the truth of what paſſes.

They add only, that the galleys of Spain having more ſlaves and ſoldiers, the victory of the French was by ſo much the more glorious; and they affirm that the other had two thouſand foot extraordinary, deſigned for Milan.

God give thee always victory over thy enemies, and make thee feared of all the world.

Paris, 24th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1658.

XXX.—*To the ſame.*

THEY do here ſo highly magnify their ſucceſſes, as alſo thoſe of the allies of the crown of France, that I know not what to believe, theſe exaggerations being ſo contrary to the glory of the Oſmans. Having given thee an account of the fight betwixt the galleys of France and Spain, I will at preſent inform thee of the advantage, they ſay, the galleys of Malta have had.

They affirm, that this ſquadron has defeated a very great galley of the Baſſa of Tripoli, laden with great ſtore of rich merchandiſe. We know well, that this veſſel and her lading are of good value; but not ſo great as the infidels publiſh. They ſay farther, that they took upon the coaſt of Calabria two great veſſels, and a polagu, commanded by Bicoce, admiral of Tripoli, who is a renegado of Marſeilles. They ſay there were two hundred Turks, three hundred and fifty priſoners taken, and fifty Chriſtian ſlaves ſet at liberty. If what they ſay is true, there were alſo a great many braſs cannon in theſe ſhips. They confeſs, that the general of theſe galleys did all that was to be expected from a valiant man, although he had the gout; and that they loſt but eight knights.

Thou who knoweſt the truth of this adventure, puniſh ſo great a lie. It is true, that the Chriſtians have taken the veſſels in queſtion; but it is not true that their advantage hath been ſo great as they make it, ſeeing there were no braſs cannon, but a few Chriſtians delivered; and they having loſt much more than they acknowledge.

Thou art valiant, thy employment gives thee the command of the ſea; root out of the world this little neſt of obſtinate pirates, who breathe but by the goodneſs of Amurath, whoſe clemency hinders their deſtruction.

Paris, 4th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1638.

BOOK II.

LETTER I.—*To the Captain* BASSA.

WHY wilt thou be more cruel than a ſerpent, and give me poiſon, when I ſend thee ſo good antidotes, to preſerve thee from the miſchiefs with which thou mayeſt be overwhelmed? If thou beeſt not ſatisfied with my friendſhip, be at leaſt wiſe with the ſincerity wherewith I have given my advice. Thy proceeding, I muſt confeſs, makes me repent I did not take another courſe: I ſhould thereby, in all probability, have put a ſtop to all thy ill practices. Had I made known to the Grand Viſier what I wrote to thee from Vienna, I ſhould have received thanks for my care and diligence, and thy chaſtiſement might have been of good example: But I tell thee plainly now, that I ſhall be obliged to accuſe thee of treaſon, in caſe thou continueſt thy commerce with the Emperor of Germany's ſecretary.

What interpretation wouldſt thou have me give the correſpondence thou holdeſt with this miniſter, when I diſcover that he ſends thee continually preſents, and receives the ſame from thee: Be perſuaded, every time thou appeareſt favourable to the Chriſtians, that the pleaſures thou doſt them render thee criminal to the muſſulmans; for, in fine, what is the meaning of thoſe Perſian horſes, thoſe Hungarian ſlaves, which thou ſenteſt, and that quantity of magnificent veſts which thou preſentedſt to thy friend? What wouldſt thou have a man think of that ſilver Hercules, and cloak enriched with pearls, which one of the faithful receives from an enemy of our holy law? It ſignifies nothing to anſwer my letters with paſſion and raging: Go to the tribunal, where theſe kind of queſtions are to be decided; the judge will tell thee whether ſuch a commerce is lawful even in times of peace. Thou much exaggerateſt the obligations thou haſt to thy friend at Vienna, becauſe he uſed thee well when thou wert his priſoner of war: To this it is eaſy to anſwer, That if he behaved himſelf like a gentleman, thou oughteſt to imitate him like a good Mahometan. Should he happen to be thy priſoner, take then thy revenge, and endeavour to requite him.

Again, ſuppoſing it ſhould be diſcovered, that this thy friend has preſented thee with this famous cypher, compoſed with ſuch ingenuity, that it may be fitly called Art's Maſter-piece, what opinion can the muſſulmans have of thy fidelity? It is known with what application thou uſeſt it to write into Germany, and to decypher the anſwers which thou receiveſt. Are not theſe ſufficient ſigns to ſhow, that the diſpatches thou writeſt, and their anſwers, are like the Trojan horſe, concealing abominable and dangerous myſteries? Be perſuaded, that I had not writ to thee from Germany the letter which has ſo great-

ly offended thee, on ſimple conjectures. The ſecretary thy friend ſaid one day, he muſt be a witch or a devil that can diſcover the artifice of theſe characters; that an Italian, who was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, had wrought twenty years to meliorate this art, and had brought it to ſuch great perfection, that he never ſaw any body that could underſtand his letters with the key itſelf, which he gave them. It is ſaid that this invention is wholly new; and the more admirable, that a letter of an ordinary ſtyle, of domeſtic affairs, of love and compliments, may contain ſecrets of the greateſt importance, without uſing equivocal expreſſions, particular characters, figures, ſuppoſed names, hieroglyphics, juice of herbs, or liquors; it being impoſſible ever to diſcover what one deſigns to hide. He adds, that one may write in Turkiſh, Arabian, French or Italian, and conceal a ſecret written in any tongue whatever.

Thy friend carries it yet farther, and ſays, he could make uſe of verſes to decypher proſe: And this audacious man affirmed one day in the emperor's antichamber, that he would put into French this horrible blaſphemy, "The tyrant Amurath will ſoon die;" which is found in the following verſes of an Italian poet, whereof he immediately made a proof: and theſe are the Italian verſes:

Giace l'Alta Cartago, a pena i Segni
De l'alte ſue ruine il lido ſerba
Muiono le citta, muiono i Regni
Cuope i faſti, e le pompe arena et herba
Et l'huom di eſſer mortal parche ſi
O noſtra mente cupida, et ſuperba ſdegni.

If it appears that I am too ſharp againſt thee, I will receive thy curſes without reply: But if thou knoweſt I have had juſt reaſons to write to thee as I have done, why are thy anſwers ſo full of injury? Think better on

thy intereſt, and be always faithful, if thou intendeſt a long life.

Paris, 4th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1638.

II.—*To the ſame.*

The ſmall ſucceſs which we always meet with at ſea, obliges me to entertain thee thereon. I ſhall take no notice of this to the other grandees of the Porte, no not to the Kaimacham, to whom I have not written theſe three poſts. If thou haſt received my two laſt letters, thou oughteſt to be ſatisfied with the care which the faithful Mahmut takes to give thee ſound advice. Conſider well all the circumſtances which are related here concerning the ſea affairs.

The loſs of ſo many galleys, great ſhips, and other veſſels, made this year by the friends of the empire, the true faithful, do much leſſen the reputation of the Ottoman greatneſs.

The diſcourſes made hereon by the Chriſtians, are ſo many invectives againſt the honour of Amurath, againſt thine, and that of our nation. If it be by a decree of heaven, that theſe Venetian pirates have taken this year all the galleys of Afric, we muſt then conclude that God is offended with us, and does not hear our prayers. For my part, I believe it; but I ſhould not be a good muſſulman ſhould I pretend to underſtand the ſecrets of Providence.

They write from Marſeilles, that the people of Tunis, Bizerte, and Algiers, are greatly diſmayed at the loſs of their fifteen galleys, which General Capello has taken from them this year. Thou knoweſt how the buſineſs has happened: the infraction of the treaty is manifeſt to all

the world, as well as the inſultings over the fortreſs of the Grand Signior. I cannot imagine what excuſes the ſenators of this republic can make for what their admiral has maliciouſly done againſt us, when they ſhall be obliged to give an account of their actions at the feet of Amurath. I ſpeak to thee with all poſſible humility, and thou needeſt not doubt but I ſpeak with zeal. I believe it is time for thee to oppoſe and put a ſtop, not only to the piracies of theſe people, but the incurſions and continual enterpriſes of the corſairs of Malta, and ſo many veſſels which infeſt our ſeas, under the banner of the Duke of Tuſcany, and other infidel princes. Thou oughteſt to ſuccour thoſe people which are friends and tributaries to the Porte, whoſe aſſiſtance thou haſt often advantageouſly uſed; neither doſt thou want means for this, having at thy diſpoſal the terrible forces entruſted to thee by Amurath; and, with theſe, the magnanimous courage given to thee by nature.

The Chriſtians have vowed to pierce this year into the Boſphorus, and put all to fire and ſword. Above ſixty French knights are determined for Malta, to join themſelves with their comrades, to cruize our ſeas with them. And thou knoweſt the reſolution and courage of this militia, and the progreſs they every day make.

Believe what Mahmut tells thee. Thou haſt two ſeas to keep, and, if it be true, thou haſt made Ali-Piccinino to come from Afric with ſo many galleys, deſigned to the keeping of the coaſts of Barbary. It is not to be doubted but the Divine Providence has ordered it (concerning ſo greatly Amurath's honour) that the guilty be purſued, ſo that not one of them may eſcape his vengeance.

All people ſay here, that Piccinino has loſt his army for want of good conduct. However, here are great

rejoicings at our loſſes; and, if poſſible, more in Italy, where they feel the advantage of ſo conſiderable a prize at the ſame time, together with the honour of the victory, and where we are hated more than in any place elſe beſides. I beſeech God to chaſtiſe theſe people by thy hand; and that the edge of thy cymetar, in giving death to our enemies, may put an end to ſlander and ſlanderers.

Here is an impudent fellow, who reports he has ſeen thee ſeveral times at Conſtantinople. He with great confidence affirms, the Chriſtian corſairs will bring thee one day, laden with chains, into the arſenal of Venice or that of Malta. He grounds his prediction on that thou art, ſays he, furious when thou commandeſt; and that being too forward, thou canſt not obey the orders given thee. He adds, that tobacco, love of boys, wine and women, drive thee twice a-day into a condition incapable of exerciſing thy reaſon. He moreover ſays, thou wanteſt courage in a land-fight, neither art well ſkilled in ſea combats. I would not write theſe fooleries to thee, were I not perſuaded that they really are ſo, and that thou wanteſt neither courage nor experience. I am moreover perſuaded of the malignity of thy accuſers, touching the debaucheries I mentioned; and it appears to me more pertinent to write thee this, than to the Grand Viſier; though I muſt confeſs I am enjoined to inform the miniſters of the Porte of whatever I hear without any reſerve.

It is ſaid, that as to what concerns the republic of Venice, and Capello, who commands its navy, that this general will be puniſhed for doing too well; that this puiſſant ſtate will be humbled to the kiſſing the ſtirrup of our great Emperor's horſe; but it will juſtify the lawfulneſs of the prize which this general made, as being no

breach of the treaty with the Sublime Porte, whence come the orders by which the world is to be governed; and that, in fine, the pirates of Afric are not comprehended in the treaties of peace made with his Highneſs.

And it is moreover alleged, that ſhould this republic be obliged to reſtore theſe galleys which ſhe has taken, it will appear they have been loſt through ſeveral accidents.

All Chriſtendom is perſuaded there is no republic in the world governed with greater prudence; which will make her avoid all occaſions of difference with the Porte, and ſeek all ways of reconcilement with Amurath, to prevent a war which cannot be for her intereſt.

I happened into a company of diſcreet perſons, who blame Ali Piccinino's conduct, and attribute his misfortune to his want of ſkill, and to his raſhneſs. They affirm, that had he had the courage of a true ſoldier, he would have behaved himſelf, not only in the Archipelago, but in the Adriatic ſea, like a captain, and not like a thief; and that God has given him this mortification as a puniſhment for the cruelty he ſhewed to the innocent veſtals whom he made ſlaves at Calabria, together with a great multitude of old men and children; which was an act nowiſe ſuitable to a brave commander. And this is the diſcourſe cauſed by the hatred to our nation, and eſpecially to Ali.

The great God, Sovereign Moderator of all things, keep thee in perfect judgment, and make thy valour renowned, and thy glory proclaimed in all places enlightened by the beams of the ſun.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1642.

III.—*To the ſame.*

I WROTE to thee yeſterday, what the ſenſe of the world was of thee; and I write to thee this day what mine is.

Although thou aſkeſt not my advice, yet I will give thee ſuch as, perhaps, thou wilt approve of, and may be uſeful to thee in due ſeaſon.

Wilt thou be revenged of the Venetians, and all the Chriſtians at once? Paſs over into the Adriatic ſeas with twenty ſmall galleys; draw near at night to the ſhore at Ancona; and before the ſun be up, ranſack the famous place of Loretto; thou mayeſt carry away thence as great booty, as ever the conſuls and Roman emperors did elſewhere.

Couldeſt thou conceive the immenſe riches ſhut up in a little chamber (where the Chriſtians affirm, that a virgin received an ambaſſador from heaven, under the form of an angel; after whoſe words ſhe found ſhe had conceived the Meſſias, whom the Chriſtians worſhip) thou wouldeſt not defer the executing of what Mahmut counſels thee.

It is reported in this kingdom, as if Piccinino had ſuch a deſign. Why did not this brave ſpark then execute what he had ſo well contrived? When he was in Afric, he was to ravage all Italy; and he had no ſooner come on thoſe coaſts, but he loſt all the true African courage. He let himſelf be taken priſoner; he ſuffered a mighty fleet to be loſt, and the ſhamefulneſs of his defeat will for ever blaſt his name.

If Amurath returns a conqueror of Babylon, which is very likely to happen, and thou takeſt Loretto; it may be ſaid, that the Ottoman empire is arrived at its full height, Loretto being the Mecca of the Chriſtians.

There is no ſeaſon wherein one ſees not arrive an in-

finite number of pilgrims from all parts, who come to offer there their devotions, with the same zeal as the faithful go and pray at the tomb of our holy prophet; and they often join with their prayers, offerings of considerable value. A small number of priests of the Roman church have such treasures there in their keeping, as cannot be fully valued: Vessels of both gold and silver, with vestures, and ornaments, and precious stones, which serve to set forth this temple, the most magnificent and famous amongst the Christians; an infinite number of lamps, crowns and sceptres, offered by the greatest princes of the Christian belief; and, in fine, whatever can be imagined most beautiful, most great and costly. Thou that knowest not what fear is, thou canst foresee nothing in this enterprise which may deter thee. The priests of this famous temple sleep all the night long, and spend the day in chanting their masses, and the soldiers designed for the keeping of this place, are few in number, and can make but small resistance: If thou beest persuaded of the truth of what I write, do more than Cæsar; go, conquer, and repose thyself. I have no more to write to thee: I send the Kaimacham a copy of this letter. I have writ thee whatever has come to my knowledge, and thou wouldest farther know, what Mahmut, under the habit of Titus, has discoursed at Paris. I am willing to inform thee, I have answered some people, who have had the boldness to say, "That the Ottoman empire will be soon ruined, should it receive such another blow;" that if trees be not wanting in Asia, the Mahometans will not want ships nor galleys; and that they will have as many soldiers and seamen as they please; if the women do not happen all of them at once to be barren. Thou knowest that after the battle of Lepanto, wherein the great God and our Prophet designed to mortify the faithful, that Se-

lim's favourite maintained the glory of his maſter, in thus ſpeaking to the Baſlo of Venice: "There is this difference between the loſſes which the republic makes, and the misfortunes which happen to the muſſulmans; that when we took from you the iſland of Cyprus, we cut off one of your arms; and when you defeated us in battle, it was juſt as if you had cut off our beards, which will ſoon grow up again; and if women and trees do not fail us, we ſhall ſoon have ſhips and men; but the loſs of your arm can never be repaired."

The eternal Lord, without whom nothing can ſubſiſt, make the ſea always navigable, and without tempeſts, that the winds may favour thy deſigns; and when thou haſt finiſhed all thou oughteſt, for the glory of the empire, I pray Heaven make thee poſſeſſor of the infidels countries, which thou ſhalt ſubdue.

Paris, 7th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1638.

IV.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THIS letter will perhaps prove troubleſome to thee, wherein thou wilt find an odd mixture; however, thou wilt have no cauſe to complain of me; for whatever I write to thee, ſhall be put into ſuch order, that if the firſt news be troubleſome to thee, the laſt will prove otherwiſe. Thou haſt received none of my letters in the laſt packets which I ſent thee; and I have found it more to the purpoſe to make thee know at once, though ſomething later, what I could not write but at three times; whereby thou wilt be better informed than others, to whom I wrote the firſt notices I had. There is nothing like to patience, as in all other things, ſo more eſpecially as to what concerns news; the lame poſt always bringing the beſt intelligence.

However, I hope thou wilt pardon me, if I wrote only to one perſon, who is the Captain Baſſa, thoſe diſagreeable things which I heard, that I might not make a new recital, which would not pleaſe; beſides that he is obliged, as well as the other miniſters of the Porte, to impart to thee the advices he receives from me.

Thou wilt find by the copy of the letter which I have written, that it is not without reaſon I am angry with him. My deſign is not to learn thee what thou knoweſt probably before me, but what thou mayeſt be ignorant of, and yet oughteſt to know.

The Chriſtians expreſs continually their hatred againſt us, always ſpeaking ill of our affairs. Although there be no war declared between theſe infidels and the ever invincible Sultan, yet they ceaſe not to be our enemies; and thou mayeſt know by their diſcourſe, they are ever laying deſigns againſt us. Thou knoweſt the uſual way of the world is to diſcourſe firſt of affairs, and then take their reſolutions. The French are generally excepted from this rule, for they have executed their deſigns before they began to ſpeak of them; ſo lively is their imagination, and ſo ready are they to take their reſolutions. They do in affairs of ſtate, what we are wont to do in thoſe of religion; they decide them by the ſword. They affirm, that princes who have valour, have no juſter tribunal than war; and that their ſoldiers are their lawyers. What meaſures then, moſt wiſe Kaimacham, can be taken with a nation which is in a continual activity? The French cannot remain at reſt; and when they diſturb not their neighbours, they make war amongſt themſelves. The miniſters of foreign princes, who do, near the matter, what I do, although they have a character which I have not, are inceſſantly in action: They watch without ceaſing, as I do, on what paſſes; and thou mayeſt aſſure

thyſelf, that the Divan ſhall be fully and certainly adver-tiſed of all things.

The Pope keeps here, as his ambaſſador, a prelate, called a Nuncio. The Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, thoſe of England, Swedeland, Denmark, and Poland, the electors, and ſeveral other princes of the empire, entertain alſo ambaſſadors, to obſerve the motions of this prince, who often breaks all their meaſures. The ſtates of Italy do alſo the ſame. There are, in this part of Europe, princes and republics: Theſe little ſovereigns are more jealous than others of their intereſts, and do more concern themſelves in all affairs which paſs. The republics likewiſe uſe greater precautions in their conduct than the monarchs do.

The republic of Venice has acquired a great reputation; France keeps a good correſpondence with her; the ambaſſador of that ſtate living here with all the marks of grandeur, and the ſame prerogatives granted to thoſe of crowned heads. Neither Perſia nor Muſcovia, keep any public miniſter here, yet, perhaps, they may have ſome that give private intelligence to their maſters. As to what concerns the princes of the Indies, they ſeem not to me to have any intereſt here; ſo that they have, I believe, no agent in theſe parts, either public or private. If the name of Spy be mean or diſhonourable, I know no body that is called one; for I being unknown, my reputation therefore runs no hazard. I ſerve, without being obſerved. But to ſpeak plainly, what are the ambaſſadors and agents of princes, but ſecret ſpies, as I am, who, under pretence of keeping a correſpondence between their maſters, inform them of what they can diſcover in the courts where they are ſent.

Thou ſhalt be ſufficiently informed by the Baſſa of the fea of Pacinino's adventure; he will ſhow thee what

I have written. However, there are ſixty galleys loſt; and our greateſt conſolation is, that we ſhall not want means to be revenged: If the Chriſtians have cut off one of our fingers, we ought to pluck out both their eyes.

It is ſaid here, that this admiral is made priſoner by the Venetians: If this be true, his confinement muſt be very uneaſy to him. But all people are not agreed, whether he be a priſoner or no; for ſome maintain, he is at Conſtantinople, where he juſtifies himſelf with his uſual arrogance; laying all the fault on the renegado, who commanded the Admiral of Algiers.

I have recommended to the Baſſa of the ſea, the enterpriſe of Loretto. If thou haſt leiſure to examine the project, thou wilt find, though I am no captain nor mariner, what I have hinted is worth regarding. The knowledge which I have of the world, of the manner of living of the Chriſtian princes, and prieſts of Rome, together with the other notices I have acquired, by the reading of hiſtories, ſhould make me conſidered as a man that is able to offer at great things; though I have not as yet gained much credit in the world.

The ambaſſador of Venice, reſiding in this court, ſays, that their republic will ſatisfy the Grand Signior; affirming, that Ali is a pirate; that the Africans have broken the peace; and that the action of their general Capello is juſt and heroical; and that Amurath himſelf will chaſtiſe Piccinino. He moreover pretends, that the galleys which were taken will not be reſtored, ſeeing it will be made apparent, that they have been loſt by different accidents: I think he ſays, they have been all ſunk before the Iſle of Corſou, by the Senate's order, to prevent the expectation of a ſurrender, the Admiral of Algiers only excepted, which thoſe infidels have brought in triumph into their arſenal, to preſerve the remembrance of an

event, which they pretend to be very glorious to them. But theſe misfortunes are not extreme nor paſt remedy, if God continues the life of our great emperor, and thy health.

Paris, 7th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1638.

V.—*To the ſame.*

THEY have at length given over talking of our loſſes, but I give not over deviſing the means to be revenged of the Chriſtians. Remember, that the Grand Viſier keeps in priſon a man fit for great things at this time, who can do the Nazarenes conſiderable miſchiefs, and procure notable advantage to the muſſulmans. If the old renegado of Dalmatia be yet alive, he is capable of deſtroying all places in the Mediterranean Sea. Adviſe with him about the deſtruction of Loretto. There is no Corſary that has done more bold exploits. He has ſpent ſixty years in courſing on the Archipelago and Adriatic ſea; where he has made horrid devaſtations, with infinite prizes. He has likewiſe moſt conſiderably daunnified the Coſſacs on the Black Sea. He began the trade at nine years old in a little veſſel, has been wounded in twenty, or twenty-two occaſions, taken priſoner four times by our pirates, and thrice eſcaped out of their hands; and not being able to fly the fourth time, nor redeem himſelf by money, he redeemed himſelf by his religion, which he quitted to embrace ours; and ſince he has been circumciſed, he has brought to Conſtantinople above thirteen thouſand ſlaves in about thirty years ſpace. He has paſſed full five years in the cleft of a rock, along the banks of the Adriatic ſea; which by his induſtry he made a ſure place of retreat. Here it was that he hid

himſelf with his men and veſſel, like a wild beaſt in his den; and it is hard to imagine how many ſnares he laid during that time, for thoſe of his own religion. He has been often purſued, but could never be taken; and his name became ſo terrible amongſt the Chriſtians, that there was no place but dreaded him. But, in fine, having, as it is ſaid, attempted to betray his maſter, in delivering into the Chriſtians hands the five gallies he commanded, he was ſent, by order from the Grand Viſier, into the caſtle of Seven Towers, although his crime was not certainly proved. It is above two-and fifty moons ſince he has been there kept priſoner, and he is not only very old, but decrepid. The long penance which a man has undergone that has done ſuch great things, and who is accuſed of having done one ill one, of which he is not convicted, does plead for ſome indulgence.

I ſhall never go about to ſolicit for the liberty of a traitor; yet I muſt ſay, that men who have dared to execute great crimes, are often capable of heroic actions. This man was, and is ſtill, at the end of his life; perhaps if thou wilt endeavour to procure him ſome advantage, and make him hope ſtill greater, he may repair his fault, by performing ſomething for the good of the empire; or at leaſt give ſome good advice. Thou knoweſt the ancient Perſians had a law, whereby their kings were obliged, not to put a malefactor to death for one crime; and private perſons not to chaſtiſe their domeſtics or ſlaves for one fault. Thou knoweſt, moreover, that princes ſhould obſerve in the chaſtiſement of their ſubjects, whether the ſervices they had rendered have not been greater than their preſent failings, and pardon them if their good deeds ſurpaſſed their bad. Theſe laws, although no longer obſerved in Perſia, yet ceaſe not to be wiſe precepts; to which if thou haſt no regard, yet thou wilt have ſome

to the zeal and affection of Mahmut. And if thou wilt ſuffer me to make here a ſhort digreſſion, in comparing the ſtate wherein we are with that of the ancients, thou wilt find how much our monarchy ſurpaſſes all others. Doſt thou believe, generous Kaimacham, that the Ottoman empire is equal, inferior, or ſuperior to that of the Romans in Pompey's time? Let us content ourſelves with ſuppoſing it equal, to ſpeak without paſſion, and cut the courſe of diſputes, which might be made hereupon, and reflect, I pray thee, on the conduct which Pompey held in the war he made againſt thoſe infinite number of pirates which infeſted the ſeas of Italy, Africa, and Aſia. He was made general of an army of five hundred ſail, with abſolute power to do what he thought fitting, without giving any account. Thou knoweſt his conduct was ſo prudent and full of valour, that embarking with ten thouſand and twenty foot, and ſix thouſand horſe, he in forty days cleared Lybia, Sicily, Spain, Sardinia, and in a word, all the ſeas which depended on the Roman power, from an infinite number of pirates, who had, as it were, beſieged the capital of the empire by their incurſions, rapines and violences.

Now, although the number of our enemies be not ſo great, nor their ſtrength ſo conſiderable, yet it is to be feared, leſt the infidels be one day bold enough (having joined their forces, which now lie diſperſed) to fall upon us, and ſhake the vaſt monarchy of the Ottomans, which they now often diſturb by frequent enterprizes in ſeveral parts.

We have an infinite number of places to preſerve; we have ſeveral kingdoms, populous iſles; we command warlike nations, and the number of the empire's ſubjects are innumerable, which ought to encourage us to undertake no leſs than Pompey did heretofore, who was called the

Agamemnon of Italy, becauſe he commanded a numerous fleet, as this hero of the Greeks formerly did. But it being already midnight, I am forced to finiſh this letter, leſt it ſhould be too late for the poſt.

I ſhall inform thee by the firſt opportunity, of what has happened in Italy and Germany, and of ſeveral other things which I thought I ought to give thee notice of by this expreſs; but accuſe me not of neglect, in not having written all to thee in this letter, and receive my excuſe, which is juſt and ſincere, and grant me thy favour.

The great God increaſe thy proſperity, and continue thy health and credit in the dominions of the invincible ſultan, under whoſe glorious reign we live.

Paris, 7th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1638.

VI.—*To the ſame.*

I PASS immediately into Montſerrat, without leaving France, to tell thee, that the Spaniards have there made themſelves maſters of a little town, which the French could not keep for want of men; and have alſo demoliſhed the fortreſs which guarded the place, that their enemies might not have any deſire after a repriſal.

The eldeſt ſon of Amadæus, Duke of Savoy, is now dead; he was called Lewis Amadæus; he was but ſeven years old when declared ſovereign, and was ſo but few moons. He died four days after the ceremony of his baptiſm. The King of France and the Queen of Spain were godfather and godmother to this prince. Thou wilt aſk me perhaps, how this could be, ſeeing they could not be there preſent? But thou muſt know, that theſe Nazarenes aſſiſt often at theſe ceremonies by procuration. The Dutcheſs of Savoy ſeems to me worthy of compaſ-

ſion, having loſt in one year both her huſband and her ſon, and a good part of her eſtate, and ſees what remains to her expoſed to the hazards of war; but ſhe has ever ſhewed herſelf a woman of courage and reſolution. Her ſecond ſon has been declared his brother's heir, and the ſtates have choſe her regent during his minority.

The reaſon of the ſudden viſit which the Elector of Saxony gave the King of Hungary, is not yet known. We have had advice of his departure from Dreſden, the capital town of his country, with a great train of courtiers, and the three princes his ſons, and that he went to Leutmaritz, where this king expected him; and it is farther ſaid, that in the ſmall time they were together, they have had ſeveral conferences, the ſubject of which is not yet diſcovered. The king has preſented the duke with a rich coach, with ſix ſtately horſes, ſumptuouſly harneſſed, and given diamonds and gold chains to his courtiers. But thou being nearer the place of this conference, and the Porte having every where ſubtle agents, thou mayeſt ſooner get this ſecret than I; for it is not to be doubted, but there is ſomething hatching againſt the Ottoman empire, whilſt Amurath is at that diſtance, and the chief forces of his empire employed elſewhere.

As to what concerns the progreſs of the Duke of Weymar, who carries on the war in Alſatia, there are infinitely different news come from thence ſince I wrote to thee; but this is what is moſt certain. After the taking of Friburgh, this general made himſelf maſter of the campaign about Briſac, and his army ſeizing upon all the poſts thereabouts, the Imperialiſts put themſelves in a poſture of hindering them; but for three months time they could do nothing but ſpoil the corn, and forage in the country, whereby they waſted their own ſubſiſtence. They have alſo fruitleſsly endeavoured to break down the

bridge which Weymar had built at Nurembergh, where they met with ſuch reſiſtance, that they were forced to retire with their army, which was in great danger. But the duke alſo met with no ſucceſs in his enterpriſe on Offenburgh, through the fault of fifteen hundred muſqueteers, French and Germans, who came not ſoon enough to plant their ladders againſt the walls, and ſurpriſe this place; and he has ſince made different trials, which have proved all in vain. An officer had already entered as far as the ramparts, with a ſmall party which he commanded, by means of a falſe paſsport; but being diſcovered by a centinel, he was forced to retreat in confuſion, with the loſs of ſome of his men. Weymar ſince defeated two regiments of dragoons, and two other regiments of horſe, and ſeized on the caſtle of Mauburgh; the garriſon of which place ſurrendered at diſcretion to a Swediſh officer. But I am informed, that the two armies came near to one another on the banks of the Rhine, of which I ſhall ſay no more than what is neceſſary.

The emperor's troops being diſcovered by Weymar's van-guard, commanded by Turenne, gained an high ground, on which fortifying themſelves, they ſheltered behind a church and ſome houſes, before which there was a battery raiſed of ſeveral pieces of cannon, to keep the Swedes at a diſtance, and hinder them from encamping too near. Some French imprudently advancing to diſcover the enemies poſture within leſs than muſket ſhot, were almoſt all killed on the place. By this time the Duke of Weymar, ſeeing he could not draw the Imperialiſts to fight, and it being impoſſible to force them on the mountain, where they were intrenched, retired under the caſtle of Mauburgh with his rear-guard, commanded by the Count de Gurbian, a French gentleman. The next day he joined the reſt of his army, and being in-

formed by a Moor that ſerved him, and in whom he put great confidence, that the Imperialiſts began early in the morning to retire, he immediately therefore put himſelf into a condition to follow them, making his army to march in battle array. His horſe conſiſted of four-and-twenty ſquadrons, and his foot of eight battalions, beſides the auxiliary troops, of which he made a reſerved body.

The French affirm, the Imperialiſts were the ſtrongeſt, as having four thouſand men more than the Swedes, of which it is hard to know the certainty, but the particulars of the battle are worth one's writing. It was very bloody, the fight being obſtinately held by both parties, and the victory long inclining ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometimes to another; ſo that the combatants were ready to retire, weary of ſtriking and being ſtruck, when fortune on a ſudden declared herſelf for the Duke of Weymar, who behaved himſelf in the fight like a wiſe captain and valiant ſoldier. It is certain the Imperialiſts have loſt two thouſand men on this occaſion, with ſeveral of their principal officers, and alſo above fifteen hundred were made priſoners, amongſt which there were above two hundred perſons, conſiderable on the account of their birth and employs. I make no mention of the number of the cannon, neither do I reckon the hundred colours or cornets, nor three thouſand waggons laden with all ſorts of ammunition, which fell to the conquerors; but I greatly value the box of writings of two great commanders, wherein were found the inſtructions and ſecret orders of the King of Hungary, and ſome treaties made with the ſublime Porte, to which all the potentates of the world ſhould pay homage.

It cannot yet be diſcovered what theſe treaties contain, yet I ſhall do all that is poſſible in order to it. The booty has been great; however Weymar ſeems not to ſet

much by it, as aiming at ſomething more conſiderable. He remained two days in the field of battle, the better to aſſure his enemy of his conqueſt. He moreover pretends in his letters to this court, that he had not in this expedition above five hundred foot, and a few cavalry, which out of a bravado, he ſays he will reinforce with his pages. This is that which our emperors, who are the maſters of the world, would ſcruple to ſay in the preſence of their ſlaves, ſo far would they be from ſpeaking ſo before an army, as this prince did in the preſence of a great king. See the vanity of one of theſe Infidels generals.

In obedience to the orders which I received from thee, I here end my letter, ſo that thou wilt receive a very imperfect relation of the events which I began to relate to thee; and I ſhall continue my diſpatch to-morrow, that thou mayeſt the better remember what I have already written to thee, that I may not loſe the thread of the hiſtory.

Paris, 24th of the laſt Moon, of the Year 1638.

VII.—*To the ſame.*

I FIND in the Alcoran, the chapter which ſpeaks of Limbo's to be very long; and I believe, I never wrote thee any letter, wherein there were ſo many words; thou ſhalt not receive henceforward any from me larger than the hundred and ſix verſicles of this chapter, ſeeing thou enjoineſt me to be ſhort. I have therefore divided this diſpatch into two, leſt it ſhould prove tireſome to thee; although I believe thou wouldſt have found it, when entire, not ſo long as the chapter which treats of *hell*.

Weymar loſt no time, but went and encamped before Briſac. He cauſed the trenches to be opened with great diligence; and has ſo beſet the Rhine, that nothing can

paſs without his leave. This river is conſiderable for its largeneſs, and length of its courſe; carrying veſſels of great burden, which make it much frequented.

This captain perceiving the town wanted proviſions of all kinds, uſed all imaginable artifices to ſurpriſe it, or carry it away by aſſault. It is the capital of a great province, where he is maſter of ſeveral conſiderable places, and ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, from whence one may ſay, the place was already beſieged.

Things were in this condition, and there was no other diſcourſe in the Swedes camp, but of victories, loſſes, and wounds, when the news of the birth of the Dauphin was brought there, which cauſed another noiſe to be heard. The horſe and foot joined their ſhouts of joy to the ſounds of the drums, trumpets, and the artillery, which was ſeveral times diſcharged.

The valour of the Duke of Weymar, and that of the troops which he commands, made not the Imperialiſts to loſe their courage, having recruited their army with new troops. General Lamboye, a man of courage and good conduct, appeared in the ſight of the Swedes, having added to his army five thouſand men, with the reſt of the troops of Prince Savelli, and waſted the country which the enemy was in poſſeſſion of. If thou wouldeſt know the ſituation of the Swedes camp, and in what manner they made their trenches and circumvallations, I can certainly inform thee, having had ſome time ſince a very exact draught of it. This camp is three German miles in compaſs, fortified on each ſide by a trench ſixteen foot thick, with a large deep ditch, a double paliſado, and ſeveral redoubts. The lower, as well as the upper parts of the town, are nightily annoyed by two bridges made on the Rhine. The abundance of all ſorts of ammunition does much hearten the army. The com-

mander, although very ill, yet is inceſſantly watchful, and ſeems indefatigable. The ſoldiers, animated by their paſt ſucceſſes, think of nothing but new conqueſts and new booty, imagining themſelves invincible. The artillery which is in the camp, is fifty pieces of great cannon, with which ſuch batteries have been made as drive the beſieged to deſpair. I mention not to thee ſeveral ſmall ſkirmiſhes which continually happen, yet this is what is moſt conſiderable; Some troops of young ſoldiers of the Imperial army, having taken ſeveral cattle from the Swedes, and made ſome priſoners, had notice of the march of Colonel Sillard, who came from France, and brought a good ſum of money for the payment of the troops. They went to meet him, and took it together with ſeveral young gentlemen priſoners, all men of note, and who had alſo a great deal of money about them. At the ſame time, the Duke of Lorrain, a prince of great valour, who ſerves in the Imperialiſts party, had undertaken to relieve Briſac, which he knew was reduced to the utmoſt extremity; and having choſen for this deſign forty companies of foot for a convoy of proviſions, and being on his march, he met with the Duke of Weymar. And this is the ſhort of the ſtory: The prince was ſtill indiſpoſed, by reaſon of his late ſickneſs; yet this could not hinder him from embracing this occaſion, which he believed to be of great importance to his party; he got therefore on horſeback, and marched up to the Duke.

The combat laſted five hours, and Lorrain did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced commander. But he was conſtrained to yield to the duke's fortune, and retire into a wood, with what he could ſave of his troops; and the Swedes courage was not a little increaſed by ſo great an advantage, which will certainly

be attended with the ſurrender of Briſac. The Duke of Weymar remained maſter of the field, having entirely defeated the Imperialiſts foot, and put the Duke of Lorrain's horſe into a horrid diſorder: There lay above twelve hundred dead on the place; and all the baggage, together with the ammunition, fell into the hands of the conqueror. A man would think, illuſtrious Kaimacham, that the god Mars has united himſelf with this captain; for notwithſtanding the weakneſs of his body, he performs every day moſt heroic actions with his valiant ſoldiers, who are ready to undertake any thing, when he is at their head. Whether this happens from his not valuing his life, or his thirſt after honour; yet ſo it is, that he cannot live without nouriſhing himſelf with victories; and he begins already to equal the famous Guſtavus, under whom he has learned his trade. Yet he has loſt, notwithſtanding his diligence, two forts he built on the Rhine; which if he retakes, it will not be without the coſt of much blood on both ſides. The Germans have already loſt ſixty thouſand men there, amongſt which there were four hundred drowned.

The extremities of Briſac, of which we have already private advices, are at preſent known to all the world. The Swedes intercepted, the laſt moon of October, a letter from the governor to the King of Hungary, wherein he laid open his condition, and told him plainly, that places which wanted men, victuals, and ammunition, could not be defended but by a miracle; adding, that the beſt officers and ſoldiers were already dead; and thoſe that were alive, were either ſick, or lay wounded, and ſo greatly tired that they could do no ſervice; and beſides, their victuals would laſt but twelve days. He ſeemed afterwards to reproach him for letting the time ſlip, in which he had promiſed him aſſiſtance; and put him in mind,

he did not believe he could hold out to the fourth of the moon of September, being reduced to ſuch extremities, that he durſt not mention particulars, leſt his letter ſhould fall into other hands. Obſerve the imprudence of the expreſſions; he dares not write all, and yet he writes more than needs, to diſcover that the place will be infallibly taken.

If thou beeſt impatient to know the ſurrender of Briſac, thou ſhalt be ſatisfied by this diſpatch. The poſt is now come, which brings news of the taking of that important place; and he is come hither in three days. The place was taken according to the rules of war, ſurrendering the ninth of the laſt moon of this year, according to the Chriſtians ſtyle. The governor procured very honourable terms; and truly he ſuſtained the ſiege with all the vigour and courage poſſible, to the laſt extremity. He is called the Baron de Reyneeh: His name deſerves a place in the letters thou enregiſtereſt; and that the Divan ſhould be informed of a man who knows ſo well to defend what is entruſted to him, that they may give to virtue her due. There went out of Briſac only four hundred foot, and ſeventy horſe, who were all naked, wounded, and almoſt dead with hunger: They were reduced to thoſe extremities, that they had already eaten the fleſh of horſes, cats, and dogs; and ſome were ſaid to have devoured human fleſh. As touching the booty, there are different diſcourſes; but it is certain, the conqueror found above two hundred pieces of cannon in the place.

But there is a ſtrange ſtory related of a young lady, of admirable beauty, who falling down at the Duke of Weymar's feet, thus ſpake to him:

"Sir, I have but ſome few moments to live, hunger having reduced me to the gates of death; but I ſhall die

deſperate, if you do not revenge me of a baſe fellow, who has exacted of me a diamond of great value, which I have been forced to give him for a roaſted mouſe: I am not angry with him for taking of me a pearl necklace during the ſiege for four ounces of flour; but I confeſs my weakneſs, I cannot ſee myſelf bereaved of what I moſt valued, and die without ſatisfaction." It is ſaid this prince could not forbear ſhedding tears at ſo piteous a ſpectacle, this lady dying almoſt at the ſame inſtant ſhe had done ſpeaking; but it is not known whether he called this hard-hearted fellow to an account for what he had detained.

The ſiege of Briſac laſted four moons, almoſt four-ſcore thouſand men periſhing in the town, by ſickneſs, wounds and famine. Bonfires are made at Paris for ſo great an advantage; and the Duke of Weymar's praiſes are every where celebrated, and great commendations are given him in the letters from the court. Our empire may have one day ſomething to fear from ſo brave, ſo experienced, and ambitious a captain, were he at leiſure: But Germany is ſo large a country, ſo full of ſtout men, and contains ſo many great towns, and thoſe ſo well fortified, as will afford him work enough, without troubling us.

It is pleaſantly ſaid here, that the emperors of Germany will no more ſleep quietly; for in loſing Briſac they have loſt their pillow on which they reſted; and it is thought, France may one day unite this conqueſt to her crown. The great God multiply the years of thy life as the ſand of the ſea, and increaſe every day thy fortune, and continue thy health.

Paris, 25th of the laſt Moon, of the Year 1638.

VIII.—To Melech Amet.

I have heard here a confuſed diſcourſe of the diſgrace of Stridya Bey; but thy letters have ſatisfied me. Thou ſeeſt, friend, how things go. He had the prince's favour, and yet could not ſave himſelf. He had moreover great riches, and yet was obliged to undergo ſuch great ignominy. He will be more deformed than he was, having now left his noſe and ears in the hands of the common executioner.

Amurath, in condemning him to this puniſhment, has done an act of juſtice worthy of him; for the honeſteſt men in the empire have ever wiſhed ill to this proud and inſolent Greek. This man, who was but a pitiful fiſherman, and ſeller of oyſters, got this intolerable pride by the prodigious riches he acquired in this mean occupation. His great wealth made him find the means of obtaining the favour of the miniſters and favourites of the prince; and his highneſs himſelf honoured him with his friendſhip, gave him offices, and heaped up riches on him. Thou ſhouldſt know all I ſay; but I am aſtoniſhed thou ſhouldſt write to me, that this wretch having been put out from the government of Walachia, by reaſon of his inſupportable pride and extreme covetouſneſs, ſhould pretend to re-enter on this office by means of money, trying in ſome ſort to corrupt the juſtice of Amurath. Obſerve how many ways he draws on him the prince's indignation: The emperor muſt have been more covetous than Stridya, had he favoured his deſign; but it was the decree of Heaven that Stridya ſhould be puniſhed, and that our maſter ſhould give a terrible example of his juſtice, to terrify thoſe who uſe their riches to commit all ſorts of crimes, and to purchaſe all manner of infamous pleaſure.

The news of the fall of this ſlave had in ſome ſort mitigated the great melancholy I felt, when I received thy letter: But the death of Zagabaraſci, our common friend, does not a little afflict me, as well as the marriage of his ſon Caragurli, made the ſame day, does aſtoniſh me; for I cannot comprehend how there could well be celebrated on the ſame day, and at the ſame houſe, two ſuch different ceremonies, as are a funeral and a wedding.

I find this adventure very ſtrange; and though our friend indeed was very old, yet I bewail him, as if he had died before his time. He was an honeſt man, of great piety, and moderately rich; and this is what makes mortals happy in this world, and the other too. But thou doſt not inform me, whether the exceſſive joy he had to ſee his ſon married to a Greek, rich with the goods of fortune, endued with great virtue, and a mute, has not cauſed his death. I rather think thou wilt ſay, our friend Zagabaraſci is dead by ſome exceſs, than yield to what we conteſted about formerly. I always found in this friend great marks of honeſty and ſobriety; and he alſo appeared to me to have great tenderneſs for his ſon. I cannot, without offending thee, accuſe this old gentleman of want of moderation, yet he is dead with a tranſport of joy. Thou ſeeſt, I affirmed no impoſſible thing when I maintained in my youth, that an extraordinary and unforeſeen joy is more likely to kill than ſudden grief, though never ſo violent. Didſt thou think it a matter of ſmall ſatisfaction to a father, that is a wiſe and ſober man, to obtain for his ſon a woman that is a mute? For what greater pleaſure can a huſband have, than to have a wife that is not talkative? The Chriſtians underſtand not the wiſdom of the Turks, when they laugh at our ſultans, who find the greateſt part of their pleaſure in the converſation of mutes. Is there any

thing more delightful than to hear a man that does not ſpeak, and to ſee one that has no tongue reaſon on all things? Thou knoweſt how many things theſe mutes of the ſeraglio do give one to underſtand, and what eloquence there is in their ſigns and geſtures. Thou remembereſt, that when Amurath would give thanks to the ſovereign Moderator of all the world, in that he had eſcaped death, when the lightening fell on his bed, and burnt to his very ſhirt, he ſeemed to offer him a great ſacrifice, in putting a mute out of the ſeraglio, which he dearly loved by reaſon of her tricks and geſtures. The Muſes were one day ready to fall together a fighting, becauſe they would not receive amongſt them a tenth companion, ſent them by a Mandamus from a king of Italy; but when this tenth Muſe ſignified to them that ſhe was dumb, all the voices were for her. Dear Melech, it is not without reaſon I write thee this. Thou art ſtill young, and deſigneſt for matrimony: Believe Mahmut, there are few women that are wiſe, and they ſay little that is good: Think then what thoſe ſay, who know nothing, and whoſe number is infinite. When they have talked a whole day, believe me, they have ſaid nothing. If thou marrieſt, follow my counſel, take not a mute, for then thou wilt marry a beaſt; neither chooſe one that talketh, for thou wilt be linked with a monſter. As to our friend, he died by a particular grace from heaven: Yet I cannot but think ſtill of his death. How many more extraordinary accidents wilt thou ſee, if thou liveſt to old age, and eſpecially if thou liveſt at Conſtantinople, where are continually beheld ſtrange adventures, and extraordinary effects, both of life and death, cruelty and clemency, as well as of good and bad fortune. Being in breath, I could continue ſtill to write to thee, but I think it is time to end, leaſt I prove tireſome;

and I end in praying heaven to keep thee in health, wherever thou art.

Paris, 25th of the laſt Moon, of the year 1638.

IX.—*To the ſame.*

PARIS, where I live, is a very healthful city, and ſo are all the places thereabouts, free from peſtilential airs; and yet there oft happens ſudden deaths as well as at Conſtantinople; and they die here likewiſe of joy. I will relate to thee what I have partly ſeen, and not what I have heard, to happen in London, the moſt ancient and chiefeſt city of the kingdom of England: A rich old man falling ſick, and lying on his deathbed, ſent to his only ſon, living at Paris, where he ſpent his time in pleaſure, to come over, that he might, with his eſtate, give him his bleſſing. Think what news this was to a young man, to whom the life of a father was troubleſome, as being an obſtacle to his liberty, and who waited his death, to take his ſwing of all the pleaſures which his corrupt nature makes him reſpect as his ſovereign good. This young man intending to get upon horſeback to run where he was called, found himſelf embarked for a voyage which he did not deſign to make; he fell dead on the place, and I ſaw him in the ſame inſtant, wherein he was living and healthful, to expire. Were I of the ſect of our philoſopher Muſlaadin Saadi, I would tell thee it matters not, whether one dies ſuddenly, or languiſh a long time; whether a man dies in his bed, or at the gallows. But I being none of Zeno's diſciples, and knowing no Peripatetick, or philoſopher, amongſt ſo many ſects that were in Greece, who diſputed whether life or death is to be preferred; ſo expect not from me any ar-

guings on the morals of thoſe Greeks, nor yet of the Perſians. But if death be ſuch a terrible thing, endeavour to live in ſuch a manner that it may never affright thee when it ſhall approach thee, or when thou ſhalt ſee it invade others, expecting it at all times, and in all places. Doſt thou know by what herb, or by what ſecret magic charm I do not fear it? It is by the leading of an innocent life.

Here is publiſhed, and that with great reaſon, the laſt words of a man of great birth, who died when he was very old, by a wound he received. He had ſerved divers kings in places of the higheſt truſt; and being mortally wounded in a battle, mark what he ſaid to thoſe that exhorted him to die like a good Chriſtian, and with the ſame courage he had ſhewed in his life; his reply was—"That a man who had lived well fourſcore years, cannot be to ſeek how to die well for a quarter of an hour." This great man, who was a famous ſoldier, was alſo a true philoſopher, and I might ſay he was a ſaint, had he been of our religion. I believe he was a moſt edifying ſpectacle, and the more conſiderable, in as much as the example he gave of dying well, is more valuable than that which he gave in ſo many battles of courageous fighting. He was called Anne de Montmorancy, conſtable of France; whoſe life I had the curioſity of reading, being to be found in the hiſtory of the civil wars of that kingdom.

But before I end this letter, let me denote to thee the difference there is between the effects of grief and joy. The meſſenger from England, of whom I already ſpake, finding at his return the old man, whom he had left dying, ſtill alive, he gave him ſuch a ſtrange ſtroke, by telling to him the death of his ſon, that grief having vanquiſhed the aſſault of death, reſtored to this unhappy old man that ſtrength he had loſt in his ſickneſs; ſo that

coming himſelf ſome days after to Paris, I ſaw him bewail the loſs of his only ſon.

He that ſaid heretofore, A man ſhould learn all his life to die well, uttered no ſtrange doctrine. Our days will laſt long enough, if we be ready to ſay at all times, We have lived enough; and if we love as we ought our great emperor, who is invincible, holy, and the moſt juſt amongſt men; and if we obſerve what a French peaſant ſaid to all thoſe that paſſed before his door, Never deny your aſſiſtance, and never do any body any hurt.

Let thou and I number our days (as was preached heretofore in the ſeraglio, to the white eunuchs by the Perſian, whoſe eyes were put out becauſe he ſaw too clearly). He always inſiſted on the ſhortneſs, uncertainty, and vanity of human life. He ſaid, "It was ſhort, conſidering what we had to do in it; uncertain as to what we ſhall do in it; and always mixed with what we have done, and what remains for us to do." Teach not thy ſon Mehemet yet, for whom thou haſt ſo much affection, theſe precepts. Children have not that ripeneſs of judgment, as is neceſſary to hear diſcourſes of death; they are too hard bits for their ſtomachs, and which indeed old men can hardly digeſt, and which they ſwallow not without feeling all the bitterneſs of them.

I pray God keep the imperial city, with thoſe that dwell in it, and ſhelter it from the ſtorms which fall on infamous cities; and I beſeech him thou mayeſt live without offence, that thou mayeſt never fear death.

Paris, 25th of the laſt Moon, of the Year 1638.

X.—*To* Enguruli Emin Mehemet Cheik, *a Man of the Law.*

When I parted from Conſtantinople I gave thee a ſtone of excellent virtue againſt the gravel, and thou preſenteddſt me with a paper which was to ſecure me againſt all bodily evils. Time only can decide which of us two made the beſt preſent to his friend. Thou haſt pretended to teach me in few words how to live amongſt the infidels; and I thought in giving thee a ſtone, to give thee a remedy againſt the diſtemper thou art troubled with. I never turn myſelf towards the place where Mecca lies, but I remember where thy amity began, and how far ſince it has been extended towards me. Abſence has not leſſened thy kindneſs, nor hindered thee from ſending me thy grave counſels; but I am as yet too young to ſet about the preparing myſelf for the other world; and too vigorous and healthful to hearken to thy ſerious and melancholy diſcourſes.

I wiſh thou wert but at Paris, where thou wouldeſt ſee a great number of people, who ſell a moſt precious thing to purchaſe a vain and fantaſtic title. How many with great earneſtneſs ſue for *placeats* from the king, that they may ſeek their deaths! Perhaps thou never thoughteſt there were any ſuch kind of people. What doſt thou think then of the ſoldiery in general? Are they any other than martyrs of ambition, to whom one would think life is a burden? It is a ſad ſpectacle to ſee how many dead lie in the ſtreets, or carried on the ſhoulders of their friends or kinſmen to their graves: Yet this is ſo common a thing in Paris that the people make no wonder of it.

This way of living obliges me to do as the reſt. I begin to conſider, that what happens to another may hap-

pen to me; there is no avoiding one's deſtiny. This preface is only to bring in a ſtory of this king's goodneſs, which ought to be an example to all princes.

The French have need of freſh ſoldiers to fill up ſo many troops as they continually entertain: Not long ſince then, there came a man full of years, and overwhelmed with deſpair, who deſired to be liſted in this prince's ſervice. To obtain what he deſired, he told the king, "That he was the father of twelve children, ſeven of which were daughters, who were marriageable; that he could no longer live, not being able to maintain ſuch a great family; and that being ignorant as yet how to die, he would learn it in the king's ſervice." The prince having appointed him to wait upon him one day privately in his cloſet, thus ſpake to him: "Thy deſpair makes thee deſirous to be liſted amongſt my ſoldiers, and charity obliges me to retain thee amongſt the citizens. Thoſe that are fools when they enter into troops, commonly come out wiſer; becauſe they learn ſeveral things of which they were before ignorant: But as to thy part, what time haſt thou to learn, who art ready to fall dead at the ſame moment thou entereſt into the ſchool? Yet I receive thee; take this ſword, go and combat thy folly, and take this purſe to ſuccour thy family, and be cured; but if thou art wiſe, ſay not from whom thou haſt received thy cure." I know not what ſum was in the purſe, no more than I do of what metal the ſword was. But I have this ſtory from an officer of the king's cloſet, with whom I have that ſtrict converſe, that he told me this paſſage as ſoon as ever it happened.

I will tell thee, if thou wilt, ſome of the principal paſſages of my life; for I conceal nothing from the miniſters and the moſt venerable mufti, who knows all that I do: I adore the Sovereign Maſter of the univerſe, and

have a great veneration for his holy Prophet: I never defiled my hands in blood, neither have I ever violated any man's bed: I eaſily forgive my enemies, and hate above all things the crime of ſlandering. If this be not ſufficient to merit ſalvation, I do not know what is. Theſe are all my virtues, as to other qualifications I have none. I have no knack at thieving; my talents lie not that way; were I qualified, I might, as moſt do, deviſe means to put my art in practice. But living according to theſe aforementioned maxims, I doubt not but I ſhall find entrance into that paradiſe where faithful ſouls will enjoy perfect happineſs, and ſet their feet on the necks of the enemies of our holy law; where they ſhall ſuffer neither hunger, thirſt, nor nakedneſs, free from the parching heats of the ſun, and the pinching ſharpneſs of the colds, cauſed by the moon; where, under the agreeable ſhade of trees, they ſhall gather the preciouſeſt fruit, ſtanding, ſitting, or lying, and drink in cups of gold, or emerald, the moſt delicious liquors, which ſpring from a clear fountain, and be ſerved with inconceivable magnificence. In this divine place they ſhall be more beautiful and ſhining than the ſtars in the firmament, whoſe brightneſs enlightens the darkeſt night; their robes ſhall be of fineſt ſilk, of a colour more green and pleaſing to the eye than the herbs which ſpring up in May; and ſhall further receive from the hands of God a potion more ſweet and delicious than can be imagined, as a recompenſe for the good they have done during their abode amongſt men. Thou knoweſt it is impoſſible for me to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, ſeeing I am obliged to abide at Paris. Thou knoweſt alſo I cannot give myſelf to contemplation, being forced to lead an active life; for I muſt not remain among the derviſes who paſs their days in ſolitude, ſerving in France, as I muſt do, our puiſſant

and invincible emperor. Thou ſeeſt here what my condition will bear; accuſe me not, therefore, for neglecting the pious advices thou giveſt me. I forget not ſo much death, as I forget that I muſt die.

Be informed of this from me, there is not a town in the world where people do learn better to live ill than at Paris; neither is there any place where they are better taught to die. I need not tell thee, here are public academies (as were heretofore amongſt the Egyptians) wherein dead bodies lie expoſed to public view, to make men remember the indiſpenſable neceſſity of dying. But I may tell thee, there is no day, wherein, in this great town, a great quantity of fools do not teach wiſer than themſelves things they have been ever ignorant of; for the gibbets and ſcaffolds ſet up for the puniſhment of the guilty, hinder the deſtruction of a great many people, whoſe innocency is preſerved by theſe kind of ſpectacles. Here the poor, who had heretofore plentiful ſubſiſtences, teach good huſbandry; the proud, humility; the debauched with women, chaſtity.

I believe there is no part of the world where there are more thieves and pickpockets, and who do their work with greater art and ſubtilty: They exerciſe their craft in all places, in the churches, as well as the ſtreets, markets and bridges; ſo that our people of the Morea, who are thought by us to be ſuch great maſters in this ſcience, are mere aſſes to them. Adieu.

Paris, 10th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1639.

XI.—*To* Cara Haly, *the Phyſician.*

I know not whether what I thought I ſaw laſt night in my bed be the effects of a dream, or of a real viſion. I

was awaked by a great earthquake, which made me riſe affrighted out of my bed. But informing myſelf by ſome people, I found it was but a dream.

My adventure has renewed the remembrance of one, which proved of ſad conſequence to one part of Italy. Phyſicians are at a loſs to find out the cauſes of thoſe horrible fires which are vomited up at certain times by Mount Gibel, Stromboli and Veſuvius, mountains in Sicily, not far from Naples, whoſe roots ſeem to ſpring from hell; whence ariſe often filthy exhalations, ſmoke and ſulphur, with flames which caſt up ſtones and aſhes to the clouds.

It is known, I believe, at Conſtantinople, that towards the beginning of the moon of February, there was loſt near Naples a little iſland that had four miles in compaſs. It is related as a thing certain, that after this iſle was ſuddenly ſwallowed down into the ſea, the fire which it included, not finding its uſual vent, there was opened ſome days after, a new way along the coaſts of Calabria, near Meſſina. There did it appear, having firſt cauſed an horrible earthquake, which overthrew a great pile of building, which the Chriſtians call a ſteeple, that belonged to a principal church, which buried under its ruins a vaſt number of people, whom devotion had at that time brought thither. Some towns of the kingdom of Naples ſuffered by this earthquake, with great multitudes of people, and herds of cattle, which were miſerably loſt in the fire by the ſmoke and heaps of aſhes; and amongſt thoſe that have been ſmothered to death are reckoned ſeveral lords of thoſe countries, who are maſters but of few ſubjects, and yet bear the title of princes.

My dear friend, Cara Haly, theſe are dreadful effects of nature, whoſe cauſes will not be found out by us. Certainly theſe countries of Italy muſt be far from paradiſe,

ſeeing theſe mouths of hell (if it be true, as many people ſay, they are in theſe mountains) do frequently ruin by theſe irruptions Calabria and Sicily. Naturaliſts affirm, that theſe mountains nouriſh ſulphureous matter in their bowels, which is eaſily inflamed, and iſſues out with more or leſs vehemency, and more or leſs frequency, according as the matter is more or leſs diſpoſed, and the ſubterranean winds kindle and eject theſe fires, and open the maſs of earth, under which they are ſhut up. But the opinion of certain philoſophers, who maintain, that mere chance produces theſe extraordinary events, appears to me very ridiculous; affirming, that one ſtone ſtriking another produces a ſpark, whence happen theſe great inflammations: Nay, they proceed farther, and would perſuade us, that a lighted lamp, left by chance by thoſe who ſearched into the bowels of theſe mountains, to diſcover the ſecrets of nature, might make theſe flames; which lighting on a combuſtible matter, and meeting with nothing that is contrary to them to extinguiſh them, do cauſe theſe ſurpriſing effects. They alſo ſay, that lightening ſtriking fiercely on ſome one of the coaſts of theſe mountains, may do the ſame thing as the ſtones ſtriking one againſt another, or the lamp left lighted.

Theſe opinions would not appear ſo ridiculous, were it poſſible to make any demonſtration of them: But theſe events being all extraordinary, and in a manner prodigious, I ſhall willingly ſuffer thee to believe that it is a work of nature, or hell, or chance alone, which cauſes the perpetual motions of theſe fires, which are ſo terrible, and ſo greatly damnify one of the fineſt countries in the world, as Greece is, and this iſland, which is the delight and nurſe of almoſt all the provinces ſituated on the banks of the Mediterranean ſea.

We find alſo in Ireland theſe mountains of fire, yet

with this difference, that their flames do no hurt, which makes them nowiſe dreadful to the inhabitants. I think too I have heard my father ſay, that being in company with certain Arabians in our Lycia, he ſaw theſe kind of fires come out of the earth, but they broke out gently and cauſed no damage.

I am now perſuaded of one thing, which I would never believe before, which is, that old Pliny, intending to relate to the Emperor Titus, and leave to poſterity a relation of the effects of Veſuvius, and a perfect diſcovery of the cauſes of ſo many prodigious effects; he therefore went himſelf on the place, becauſe that in his time this famous mountain had caſt out an horrible quantity of fire, ſtones and aſhes, with ſo great violence, and ſuch terrible noiſe, that the effects of it were felt in Syria, Afric, and eſpecially in Egypt. But the curioſity of this wretched philoſopher having coſt him his life, the Romans expect ſtill, with his return, the diſcovery of the ſecret cauſes of ſo many prodigious effects. Take care of thine own health, and let not any of thy patients miſcarry through thy neglect or raſhneſs. Continue to love me, though I am at a great diſtance from thee. Write to me ſometimes; and believe that I am not able to conform myſelf to the way of living of ſtrangers amongſt whom I reſide. I ſhall be always a good muſſulman, and a faithful friend.

Paris, 10th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1639.

XII.—*To the Venerable* MUFTI, *Prince of the Religion of the Turks.*

THY decree is very cruel, to ſeparate me, without having committed any crime, from the communion of the faithful.

I have read the holy anſwer thou haſt made me with great veneration; but this has not been without many tears: thou haſt not untied the knot of the difficulties which perplex me, but made it indiſſoluble; ſo that I only live in the certainty of having no certitude; and my ſoul, which is encompaſſed with fear, will be in dread till death.

If I do what thou propoſeſt, how ſhall I be ſure of not failing, ſeeing I do not underſtand what I ought to do. I am ſo dull, that I cannot diſtinguiſh whether thou exhorteſt me to do what I have ever done, or whether thou forbiddeſt me what I aſked of thee.

I entreated thee to let me know, whether I might be amongſt the Chriſtians, and do, in appearance, what they do effectually in the obſervance of the ceremonies of their religion? and thou anſwereſt me, "That the circumciſed, or faithful, ſhould have no doubt in his law, and need no other precepts to obſerve it than the law itſelf. Moreover, that the true muſſulman muſt be willing to loſe his eſtate, his life and honour, in the ſultan's ſervice; that the Chriſtians are enemies to the true God, the emperor and religion; and that, in fine, one ought to ſacrifice all things not to betray this God, who is our chief maſter."

Tell me, I entreat thee on my bended knees, cannot a man be a true Mahometan without hating eternally the followers of Jeſus? and in living amongſt them, ſecretly, a true muſſulman, muſt one ſhow one's ſelf to be of another religion, or pretend to be of theirs? Thou wilt tell me, the Alcoran ſpeaks with great clearneſs; yet how many obſcure paſſages do we find in the words of our holy Prophet, wherein we need thy expoſitions?

I have no belief for Tagot, neither will I give credit to the devil; my law expreſsly forbids it: for I believe

in one only true God, who knew the intention of our holy lawgiver, and ſees what we cannot diſcover. And the prophet cries out, that he that has ſuch principles leans on the ſtrongeſt prop he can ever meet with; there being nothing which is able to overthrow it.

Diſperſe, reverend ſir, as much as thou canſt, the darkneſs of my ſpirit: I conjure thee by the almighty Father, who can make live fleſh come on the dry bones of the aſs which died an hundred years paſt.

I do not diſcontinue here my uſual prayers, which I make in the manner they are preſcribed me by the law, with my face always turned to the ſide of Mecca. When I faſt, I eat only at night; and I continue my repaſt till, Aurora advancing, the day gives me light enough to diſtinguiſh black thread from white; and I paſs over the day without taking any nouriſhment, till the darkneſs be ſo great that I cannot ſee the eye of a needle. It is true I give no alms to the poor, becauſe I doubt whether it be lawful to do good to thoſe who continually move heaven againſt us.

The biſhops here are in great veneration. They have not an abſolute authority, becauſe they depend on the Roman prelate and the king; yet their juriſdiction is very large, the kingdom being full of churches, and theſe churches frequented by millions of people. They wear about their necks a golden croſs. They live, in public, good lives; are obliged to know all the points of their law; they muſt be doctors, are obliged to celibacy, to be ſober, hoſpitable, prudent, irreprehenſible, without coveting others goods; they muſt never be drunk, or ſhed human blood. Their habit is a long veſt reaching to the ground, of black ſilk or violet. They go little on foot, but are carried in coaches to avoid the wearineſs which would oppreſs them, in a town which ſeems

the greateſt in the world; which thou wouldeſt do too perhaps, wert thou deſigned to be their ſovereign prelate.

The great Arbitrator of the world, favour by his mercy, or by an effect of his juſtice, the inconceivable honour of ſuffering thee to ſweep during thy life, his moſt holy and only temple of Mecca, in the company of Ifmael and Abraham, that thou mayeſt keep it clean, without any filth of what kind ſoever.

Paris, 10th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1639.

XIII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE French armies are at preſent in winter quarters, and the court is buſied in contriving what they ſhall do in the ſpring. I do not believe I write thee any falſe news for it is to be believed that the ſharpneſs of the winter will hinder any thing from being undertaken before that time.

The eyes of all the court are fixed upon three objects, the king, the dauphin his ſon, and Cardinal Richlieu; but they more carefully obſerve the latter than the former. This man hath made himſelf creatures by his benefits; the thankfulneſs for which, and the hopes of new ones, has bound them to his intereſt. Yet it is to be believed, he has more enemies by means of the great credit he is in with his prince, and the occaſions he finds to increaſe it. His antichamber is always full of attendants, who aſpire to employs of ſuch as are in offices, and ſeveral other perſons, who are deſirous to be witneſſes of his actions. Thoſe who threaten him in ſecret, do but increaſe his courage, and make him more carefully ſtand on his guard; and thoſe who have moſt expe-

rience of the world affirm, this cardinal knows too much to be ſurpriſed. Hear the recital of one of the leaſt of his actions, whereby thou mayeſt figure the greateſt, and give them the due price they deſerve. For three years together was obſerved in this cardinal's antichamber, a man who was not far advanced in years, and as aſſiduous to make his court, as he was modeſt in his diſcourſe; very reſerved and patient; and, which is very rare at court, was never heard to complain. The cardinal, who pretends to read the ſouls of men, and who is inferior to none perhaps in this art, cauſed this perſon, who had ſo long attended, to be called to him, and thus ſpake to him: "I know who thou art, and how long time thou haſt ſpent in obſerving me; although thou outwardly appeareſt a Frenchman, thy great patience aſſures me thou art of another climate; get thee to Rome, and wait but half the time in the Pope's antichamber, as thou haſt done in mine, and I doubt not but thou wilt penetrate into the moſt hidden ſecrets. Depart then immediately for Italy, and obſerve the actions and motions of the wiſeſt and moſt diſſimulative court in the univerſe; diſcover not thyſelf to any body: Send me an account every week what thou canſt diſcover; and in this manner thou wilt be uſeful to me, and avoid idleneſs. My ſecretary will give thee a cypher, and my treaſurer has order to give thee what is neceſſary for thy voyage, as well as to keep thee when thou art at Rome."

The cardinal ſtudies to extend the bounds of the kingdom, and for that purpoſe, conſults thoſe who can any ways advance his projects; eſpecially, the king being now certain of a ſucceſſor, by the birth of the dauphin, who ſeems very likely to live long. All hands are employed at Thoulon and Marſeilles for the fitting out of galleys and other veſſels; and it is thought, the chief

deſigns of this miniſter are on the coaſts of Italy. I am told he was heard to ſay, that the Romans could never have conquered all the world, as they did, had they not before been maſters of Italy; that Hannibal had the ſame deſign; and after Hannibal, Pope Alexander VI. intended to ſee whether ſuch a deſign would take effect, but his pride and cruelty made all his projects prove abortive; and that he could meet with greater ſucceſs than Hannibal, could he be ſo happy as to attain one thing. And here he ended his diſcourſe.

He ſo greatly minds whatever paſſes in the royal family and kingdom, that he can diſcover, as he pretends, all the thoughts, yea, and the very dreams, of the grandees, governors of provinces, and thoſe that command in places.

He ſays, he has learned ſeveral uſeful things in the relation given us of the government of the Chineſes, having from them the way of diſcovering the moſt difficult matters, without its appearing he does any thing for this purpoſe. And this is the method of governing, he obſerves, in this kingdom, wherein are ſo many reſtleſs ſpirits.

He maintains, near all people who are in any conſiderable offices, perſons that depend only on him, and who are known to nobody elſe, who in all places wear mean clothes, and inceſſantly watch over the actions of the officers, and give him notice of whatever paſſes. He makes uſe of theſe kind of people about his maſter's ambaſſadors in foreign courts. He always carries a book about with him, which he calls Richlieu's Soul; which book contains the deſigns, the intereſts, the ſecret practices and inclinations of all the princes who hold a correſpondence, and have any ties with France, and on whom France has any pretenſions. The moſt ſkilful a-

ſtrologers in Europe have alſo ſent him the horoſcopes of all the kings and great men, with their judgment touching the term of their lives, and what they may probably undertake in all times. This cardinal ſaid, on another time, that he kept a great many courtiers, yet he could well enough ſpare them; that he knew what paſſed in remote places as ſoon as what was done near him. He once affirmed, he knew in leſs than two hours that the King of England had ſigned the warrant for the execution of ————. If this particular be true, this miniſter muſt be more than a man. Thoſe who are his moſt devoted creatures affirm, he has in a private place in his cloſet, a certain mathematical figure, in the circumference of which are written all the letters of the alphabet, armed with a dart, which marks the letters, which are alſo marked by their correſpondents, and it appears, that this dart ripens by the ſympathy of a ſtone, which thoſe who give and receive his advice keep always at hand, which hath been ſeparated from another, which the cardinal has always by him; and it is affirmed, that with ſuch an inſtrument he gives and receives immediately advices.

This great man, who knows all theſe reports, only laughs at them; yet he ſays with a ſerious air, that God has given him two angels, one white and another black, to inform him of both good and bad matters; and that with their aſſiſtance he ſhall overthrow the cabals of his enemies. He ſent, ſome days paſt, a man to the galleys, that was accuſed for cutting in pieces the king's picture; but having been better informed, and knowing it was his, he told thoſe about him, that this man ſhould be pardoned, becauſe he had done no hurt to the original. Here are theatres and feaſts preparing to entertain

the people in honour of the king and cardinal; and it is whiſpered that the queen is again with child.

Heaven preſerve thee ever from the ſultan's anger, and all other misfortunes which may ſour the comforts of thy life.

Paris, 25th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1637.

XIV.—*To* Egri Boynou, *the white Eunuch.*

If thou goeſt into Pruſſia in Bithynia, as thou writeſt, above all things remember to prepare thyſelf not to live long, and never to inform the young ſultan Muſtapha of the misfortune of the grandſon to Solyman the Great, and ſon to poor Bajazet, whom his grandfather cauſed to be ſtrangled in his infancy. This unhappy place makes me fearful of thy life, as well as that of the prince's, the care of whoſe education is committed to thee. I cannot forbear weeping every time I call to mind what paſſed between the victim and the executioner. Thou thyſelf toldeſt me, that this unhappy child embraced and kiſſed ſeveral times him that was to give the fatal ſtroke, even in the moment when he was putting about his neck the ſilken ſtring which was to ſtrangle him. All Aſia is informed of the reſt of the hiſtory; and it is known, that this child, although ſtrangled, yet triumphed at his death over his murderer; for, being ſoftened by the careſſes of this infant, whom he was about deſtroying, he dropped down in a ſwoon; and Bajazet's ſon had by this occaſion eſcaped death, had not the other executioner, more cruel than the former, done the work.

Although thou doſt not certainly know who is Muſtapha's father, yet thou mayeſt well preſume he is the emperor's ſon. Thy age and prudence ſo long experienced,

and the office of chief of all the eunuch's of the empire, which thou haſt ſo long enjoyed, leaves no place of doubting, but that thy pupil is of royal blood. Arm thyſelf then with courage, and ſtudy to perform well thy duty in this ſolitary place: Nothing is ſo troubleſome as the inſtructing of children, when they will be taught as maſters by their ſlaves, and will not ſubmit to rules, like private perſons.

Thou mayeſt be ſure, I ſhall render thee all the ſervice I am able, ſeeing I conſider thee as a friend that is extreme dear to me: But why doſt thou ſeek amongſt the Chriſtians an illuſtrious ſubject, which may ſerve for a model to form a child born in the religion of the muſſulmans?

Did I not know thy wiſdom, I ſhould think thou art very ſimple in ſearching after examples amongſt the enemies of our holy law, to propoſe them to be followed by the Ottoman children. Thou haſt choſen for this purpoſe Henry of France, termed The Great; and art thou ignorant, that this ſo famous a king was the moſt implacable enemy of the empire? Be it known to thee, that this prince undertook the boldeſt and dangerouſeſt deſign as was ever imagined, to deſtroy the monarchy of the muſſulmans; and might probably have ſucceeded, had not heaven, by an unforeſeen ſtroke, ſnatched him from the earth, to appear before the tribunal of the true God, who judges kings as well as other men. But leſt thou ſhouldeſt imagine I make this pretence to excuſe myſelf from ſatisfying thee in what thou deſireſt, receive at leaſt one part of what thou expecteſt. Thou wouldeſt have me ſend thee the hiſtory of this prince; content thyſelf with a ſhort extract of it, otherwiſe I muſt be forced to ſend thee a large volume. However, make not uſe of his example in all things; the way of living, the

laws and cuſtoms of the French, do not ſuit with the Turkiſh way of regimen. If thou wilt make thy pupil accompliſhed, form him on the model of ſome one of thoſe heroes which the caſt has given us. Muſtapha will read with greater profit the hiſtory of Alexander and Pyrrhus, than that of Charlemagne and Henry; and ſhould one wonder at the defaults of the King of Macedonia's ſon, and at the ſmall fortune of the other, pray ſhow me what men there ever were, who had at the ſame time the frailties of human nature, and the perfections of the Divinity.

And if thou wilt ſearch into Perſia and Egypt, thou wilt find a Cyrus, and an Artaxerxes, Ptolemy, Pſammeticus, Campſon and Tomombois, all great princes, whoſe actions honour antiquity. And how many heroes wilt thou find in our Greece, if thou wilt take no notice of thoſe whom Rome has ſent into the world? But not to go out of the Ottoman family, thou knoweſt very well, that we Turks have for proverbial ſpeeches, the modeſty of Solyman; the good mien of Alis; the juſtice of Nonquirevan; the majeſty of Oſman; the gravity of Humer; and the juſtice of Abubekir; not to mention the courage and magnanimity of Amurath, who is, at this day, more valorous than any of his common ſoldiers; whether he be in his ſeraglio of Conſtantinople, or in his tents before Babylon.

Ten days ago I received thy letter, and I have employed a great deal of that time in collecting what thou haſt deſired of me; and to ſpeak truly, thy commands have ſupplied me with matter wherewithal to divert me. Thou wilt be, without doubt, ſurpriſed that two men, who long ſerved this king in mean employs, have diſcovered ſeveral particulars of his life, with which the French themſelves, perhaps, are not acquainted. My ſentiment

has ever been, that it is more neceſſary to know the manners and cuſtoms of men, than to know the number of places they have beſieged or taken; and to be informed of their good qualities and bad ones, than to learn the manner of their encampments, and the number of the battles which they have won or loſt. All hiſtories contain the actions of men, and the principal is to know theſe men, to inſtruct others; for hiſtories do generally rather divert than inſtruct men. Theſe will teach thee better what thou art to learn, than the hiſtorians themſelves. Chriſtian authors are at preſent like the elements, always in war, and ever contrary to one another, and never agreeing.

Theſe two above-mentioned friends, who are now very old men, have ſerved King Henry above thirty years, and ever held a ſtrict correſpondence with one another; one was his barber, and the other's buſineſs was to divert him with reading to him when he was going to reſt.

That which is related of Henry's coming into the world without weeping, is certainly a fable; but it is certain the Queen of Navarre, his mother, ſung a French ſong in the time of his birth; whereby this princeſs ſeemed to ſhow other women, that it is poſſible to be brought to bed without crying out. The firſt milk which this royal babe drank, was an ambroſia, which the gods of our friend, the poet Oglou, never taſted: His father made him drink in a golden cup, of the ſtrongeſt wine that could be gotten, wherein he put and ſqueezed a clove of garlic, which he thought proper to ſtrengthen his temperament, and render him more vigorous. He was afterwards bred up like Cyrus, ſpending his firſt days in woods, and oftentimes in the company of ſhepherds. He went always with his head bare, whether

expoſed to the ſcorching heats of the ſummer's ſun, or during winter, to the rain and moſt rigorous froſts, ſnow and hail. It ſeems as if he had begun his life in priſon, being confined to the fields, diſtant from all converſe, clad in coarſe hair-cloth, to accuſtom his body to fatigues, and ſupple his ſpirits to the accidents of fortune.

He was but nine years old when he loſt his father, Anthony king of Navarre. The death of this prince may ſerve for a leſſon to Muſtapha; for, having received his death's wound at the ſiege of a conſiderable place, he made the wall of the chamber where he lay to be broken down, that he might be carried in his own bed, dying as it were in triumph, into the town: Miſerable ambition of great men, who ſtrip not themſelves of it, till death ſtrip them of their lives! Seven years after the death of Anthony, the young Henry was declared head and defender of the Hugonot party; and, when eighteen years old, he was in a conſiderable fight; but it is not well known, whether he himſelf was engaged. Fortune was ſo contrary to him in the beginning, that having loſt a battle, he was obliged to flee for ſix months together with the reſt of his army; and to traverſe almoſt throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, without taking any reſt, for fear of being ſurpriſed.—Thou haſt never read, I believe, of any captain that made a flight of that durance before him. The queen, his mother, being a woman of maſculine courage, and firmneſs of mind, died, poiſoned by a pair of gloves. At nineteen years of age, he married the king's ſiſter, who then reigned, named Charles IX. and never any wedding was ſolemnized with ſuch bloody tragedies. It is hard to believe what an infinite number of Hugonots were then maſſacred; the deſign was ſecretly laid during

the celebration of the wedding, and executed ſix days after, at full noon. It is ſaid, that in one day all France was dyed with the blood of theſe poor people, there being at leaſt an hundred thouſand of them ſlain, amongſt which were twenty lords of great conſideration, with the great admiral of the kingdom; and, at the feweſt, four thouſand ſoldiers maſſacred in Paris. Henry did not periſh on that unhappy day, but he was very near death; and the king having called him, thus ſpake to him, with an angry tone, and fierce countenance, "Henry, thou art alive, becauſe I would ſpare thee, but I will not ſpare thee, if thou perſiſt in thy hereſy; chooſe one of theſe two things, either the maſs or death." If thou knoweſt not what the maſs is, I will ſhew thee in another letter. This prince choſe to go to maſs, rather than to loſe his life; and therefore publicly abjured the religion he profeſſed. These two old men affirm, that Nero or Caligula's court was never corrupted as that of France was then. No people were more in faſhion than buffoons; and never did the worſt ſort of debaucheries ſo abound. Sorceries, impoiſonings, aſſaſſinations, and all other ſorts of crimes were permitted in ſuch a manner that all the laws and good order ſeemed to be overthrown. It is not known whether the King of Navarre took up his former religion through policy, or ſome corruption he ſaw amongſt the catholics; however, he returned ſome time after to Calviniſm, whereunto he was ſo obſtinately addicted, that having lived ſeveral years in this ſect, he was forced to offer great violence to himſelf, to enjoy peaceably the kingdom of France, and accommodate himſelf with the Pope of Rome, and to make again public profeſſion of the Roman religion.

Never any prince more loved women than he did. This paſſion prevailed over him all the days of his life;

and there were two different natures obſervable in his perſon—an invincible courage in the field; and ſuch a paſſion for women, as made him be often ſeen to weep amongſt them. He has had greater weakneſſes than Hercules, and he gloried in them. He challenged the braveſt man in all France, the Duke of Guiſe, to a ſingle fight; but the king interpoſed his authority to hinder the combat.

This king performed an action during his youth, which our derviſes would have certainly ſet down in their regiſters as greatly remarkable. On a certain day wherein he was to fight a pitched battle, being on horſeback in the midſt of his army, he made public reparation to a young woman whom he had deflowered, and ſpake in theſe terms: "I have forced this woman you ſee here, and uſed threats when entreaties would not bring her to my luſt. Let all that hear me deteſt the bad example I have given. And as for your part, whom I have thus wronged, chooſe an huſband, and receive from me ſuch a portion as may ſeem in ſome ſort an amends for the injury I have done you."

It ſeems as if this ſo laudable an action was approved of by Heaven: For having immediately hereupon given battle, he overthrew a mighty army with a few troops.

The ladies, who bore Henry no ill will for his tenderneſs to their ſex, greatly intereſted themſelves in the affairs of war, wherein this prince was always head of the Hugonot party; and they gave occaſion to a proverb which laſted a great while: There being ſome who were for making a peace, and others war, this war was called *The Ladies War*. This prince had been in ſo many fights, that I believe one may truly ſay in this particular, never any prince came near him; for who ever in one day was in two battles, and came off victorious?

King Charles IX. dying during this time, the queen-mother ſent for her other ſon in great diligence, who had been elected ſome moons before king of Poland, by the death of Sigiſmund Auguſtus. It is ſaid, that Charles's ſucceſſor having been advertiſed of the death of the king his brother, fled in the night from Cracovia only with two perſons who were his confidants, and retired to Venice; and it is ſaid, that the courtezans of this famous city aſſured the crown to our Henry; for, having been infected with the diſtemper which the French call the Neapolitan Diſeaſe, and other nations the French Pox, he became incapable of having children to perpetuate the crown in the branch of Valois.

After his death, which was violent, and perpetrated by a Chriſtian derviſe, Henry III. dying without an heir, and his throne being fought by different pretenders, Henry, to whom alone his birth had given right, became maſter of it by his patience: His fatigues in war, and his courage, made him vanquiſh all obſtacles. He maintained his right with an unparalleled valour, and carried himſelf with the greateſt prudence; yet his greateſt ſucceſſes are owing to the greatneſs of his heart. He met ſometimes with diſadvantage, but oftener came out conqueror from all engagements; and it is obſervable, he was the prouder after the battles won, becauſe he had before appeared extraordinary familiar with the ſoldiers who had helped him to win them. He was wont to be often in his ſtables to ſee his horſes; and often ſlept amongſt theſe creatures, whom he termed his moſt faithful courtiers. How difficult ſoever the way was which was to lead him to the throne, he would not be diſheartened; theſe difficulties ſerving only to increaſe his courage. He ſaw the Spaniards confederated with his enemies; yet he alone, without any other aſſiſtance but of

ſome few faithful troops, ſat down before Paris, which was the moſt famous ſiege ſince that of Jeruſalem by Titus. He reduced the inhabitants of this capital of the kingdom to live on the moſt abject means one can imagine, after they had conſumed the rats, mice, dogs and cats, which were for ſome time the greateſt delicacies the beſt people of the town could meet with. But he was, for all this (after he had given ſeveral aſſaults), forced to raiſe the ſiege, and accommodate himſelf with the prince who commands all the prieſts amongſt the catholics; and he again renounced Calviniſm, wherewith he was infected, and which ſerved as a pretence to his enemies. He was crowned in the ſame manner as his other predeceſſors had been before him. He began to govern his kingdom, ruined by ſo many wars, pillages, and conculſions, made by all ſorts of people, and ſo repaired it by his good government, that he was ſoon in a condition to embelliſh it. He built ſeveral magnificent bridges, raiſed ſtately edifices, and forgot nothing which might re-eſtabliſh thoſe good orders which the licentiouſneſs of the times had overthrown.

But what this king deſigned againſt us as ſoon as he was ſettled on the throne, will appear at the ſame time to thee both dreadful and admirable. As ſoon as ever he had made a general peace with his enemies, he laid the foundation of the moſt heroic deſign that ever man invented, wherein he ſhewed himſelf not inferior to the firſt of the Cæſars, nor the conqueror of Aſia.

He undertook to overthrow all the monarchies of the world, to give a new face to all the affairs of it, and deſtroy, in a ſhort time, the empire of the Ottomans. But before he began ſuch a great enterpriſe, he was for paying all the debts of the crown, and his own in particular; which amounted altogether to near an hundred mil-

lions, and it was a prodigious thing to find ſo much money without ſelling the kingdom, or engaging the people; yet it is true that he got this money, and paid thoſe debts with it.

He was for dividing Chriſtendom into fifteen equal dominations, five of which ſhould obey kings that were ſo by ſucceſſion, and ſix to be ſubject to kings that were elective, and the four remaining ſhould be republics.

By this diviſion he left the pope the countries belonging to the church, and added thereunto the kingdom of Naples, with the homage of Sicily, and the greateſt part of Italy, modelled into a republic; with obligation to give the pope every year a golden crucifix, and four thouſand ſequins. Only Venice was left in the condition it was in, with its laws and cuſtoms. But there were allotted to this republic, kingdoms and iſles, which were to be taken from us in the Archipelago, with an homage to the Roman prelate, of an embaſſy to kiſs his feet; and at the end of every twenty-five years, a ſmall ſtatue of gold, repreſenting St. Peter, whom they term God's Vicar on earth.

Flanders ſhould make a republic with the reſt of the Low Countries, which would be a loſs for the Spaniards; and to this republic ſhould be added ſome of the neighbouring ſtates.

The Franche Compte, Alſatia, Tirol, and Trante, were added to the democratical ſtate of the Swiſſes, with the homage, every fifteen years, of an hunting-dog, with a golden collar about his neck faſtened to a chain of gold, which this republic ſhould preſent to the Emperor of Germany.

The emperor ſhould be obliged to renounce the aggrandizing of his family, and only diſpoſe of vacant fiefs, the inveſtiture of which he ſhould not beſtow on any of

his kindred; and there ſhould be a law inviolably obſerved in the empire, that never two princes of the ſame race ſhould enjoy ſucceſſively the imperial crown.

The dutchy of Milan ſhould be added to the other provinces belonging to the Duke of Savoy, together with the title of King of Lombardy.

The kingdom of Hungary ſhould be enlarged with the principalities of Tranſylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia; and the king, who was to be elective, ſhould be choſen by the ſuffrages of the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of France, England, Spain, Swedeland, Poland, and Denmark; and Bohemia ſhould be ſubmitted to the ſame laws.

France, England, Spain, Poland, Swedeland and Denmark, ſhould not change their form of government, when for the general affairs, theſe kingdoms were to be ſubject to the univerſal republic, of which the pope was to be the head.

Things thus eſtabliſhed, Henry was to be the umpire of all Chriſtendom, to decide all differences which might happen between the aforeſaid princes and ſtates, with fifteen perſons choſen from amongſt the moſt famous for learning and arms, which could be found among theſe fifteen dominations: And beſides theſe, there was to be eſtabliſhed a general council, conſiſting of ſixty other perſons, for all the differences which might happen in all the kingdoms and republics between thoſe who governed them; and this great aſſembly ſhould make their reſidence in the capital city, Rome.

Every ſtate was to be obliged to furniſh a certain number of troops, and ſum of money, to make war againſt the Turks: And the buſineſs of Poland and Swedeland ſhould be to make war together againſt the Muſcovites and Tartars. There were afterwards three generals to

be choſen by common conſent, for the conquering of Aſia, one for the ſea, and two for the land; and three hundred thouſand foot entertained, with one hundred and fifty thouſand horſe, and four hundred pieces of cannon; and the naval army was to conſiſt of an hundred and fifty veſſels, and one hundred gallies; and a fund was to be raiſed for this of an hundred millions of gold.

This treaſure was to be put into the pope's hands:—The iſle of Malta was to be the ſtorehouſe of all things belonging to the ſea, the port of Meſſina the arſenal of the galleys, and the city of Metz one of the principal magazines for the land forces.

All the Chriſtian princes were to be obliged to leſſen their ordinary expences, and to contribute to this great deſign according to their ability.

There were to have been ſeveral ſpies in Conſtantinople in the habit of Greeks, who were perfectly ſkilled in the eaſtern languages, to obſerve the motions of our empire: And beſides theſe, forty reſolute men, who were at a certain time and ſignal, to ſet fire to the ſeraglio and arſenal, and ſeveral other quarters of the town.

There was found in this hero's cloſet, after his death, a memorial written with his own hand, wherein he had already marked twelve ambaſſadors for ſeveral places in Chriſtendom, for the negotiating of ſo great an affair; and the Pope, republic of Venice, and Duke of Savoy, had been already acquainted with it.

In the mean time, this king had an army already of forty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe; and he was, under pretence of viſiting the frontiers of Flanders, thence to begin the execution of his project, affirming, that, as to his own part, he had no other pretenſion but the glory of delivering Chriſtianity from the tyranny of theſe barbarians.

It is ſaid he applied himſelf for ten years together in ſearching the means to make his project take; he gave great penſions to the cardinals at Rome, and in Germany to ſeveral officers; and he had in France, beſides the troops I have already mentioned, four thouſand gentlemen, who were ſo devoted to him, that they were ready to mount on horſeback on the leaſt order from him.

He had already fifteen millions in the Baſtile; and he that had the ſuperintendency of his treaſure, promiſed to add thereunto, in leſs than three years, forty more millions, without touching the ordinary revenues.

I have no knowledge of the manner how he would divide the eſtates of the ſultan. But Henry was aſſaſſinated juſt as he was ready to leave Paris to begin ſo great a work, being killed in his coach, in the arms of his moſt faithful courtiers; and the fatal ſtroke which carried him out of the world, delivered the empire of the true believers; this empire, whoſe throne is ſo high that it reaches up to the firſt heaven, whence it ſcares theſe infidels, and ſecures the good muſſulmans from the inſults of the Chriſtians.

One of theſe old men I mentioned has aſſured me, he heard the king ſpeak theſe following words ſome days before his death, "I ſhall never go out of this town: I know not what withholds me: I ſhall never accompliſh what I deſign; never ſee the deſtruction of Conſtantinople; for I am told by aſtrologers I ſhall be killed in a coach. I muſt then always go on foot, and never ſtir out of Paris."

Such was the end of this prince, ſo highly venerated by the French. He was really a man of great courage and great penetration; and ſo much the greater, in that he regarded the deſtruction of the Ottoman empire, as one of the difficulteſt things in the world; and truly,

no other prince did that honour to Mahomet nor his ſucceſſors. But yet not finding his own forces ſufficient to invade and deſtroy the Turkiſh empire, he invented a chimerical project to find a poſſibility in a thing which ever appeared impoſſible.

In the very moment I am writing, I have received certain news of my ruin. If I be not taken off this time at Paris, I ſhall perhaps be more fortunate than ever, and more ſucceſsfully and fully ſerve our great emperor, whoſe clemency is equal to his grandeur, and who is above all the powers on earth. Cardinal Richlieu has ſent for me to come to him: I therefore finiſh this letter in haſte, which perhaps will be the laſt I write, being greatly afraid I am diſcovered. If my fear be vain, I ſhall learn thee, in another letter, the moſt remarkable events of Henrys life. In the mean time, I am reſolved and diſpoſed to ſuffer the martyrdom. If I die, my dear Egri, we ſhall ſee one another in the other world; if it be true that we ſhall have eyes there, and remember what has paſt here below. Pray the Great God for Mahmut, and take care of thy health.

Paris, 25th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1639.

XV.—*To the Invincible* Vizier Azem, *at the Camp under Babylon.*

Cardinal Richlieu made me come into his preſence, and yet I am alive: He has not attempted any thing againſt either life or liberty; but has done me the ſame honour as to other foreign churchmen; for he believes I am of Moldavia, calling me Titus, not knowing any more of me than what I told him. It ſeems on the contrary, as if he intended me kindneſſes, ſuppoſing me a

bitter enemy to the Turks; and perhaps I ſhall receive ſome preſent from him, for having ſerved him already as an interpreter. I ſhall tell thee, invincible Viſier, what has paſt between him and me, without any fear of being tedious to thee. I ſerve thee faithfully, and write to thee as oft as my duty requires.

As ſoon as I was in his cloſet, he thus ſpoke to me: "Titus, What doſt thou do in Paris? What buſineſs haſt thou in this town? And what is really thy country?" I anſwered him, "That I was a poor clerk of Moldavia, and came to ſtudy divinity, and be a prieſt; that I knew no better place to become wiſe and learned; and that I would willingly ſacrifice all things to render him ſervice." He afterwards aſked me, "Whether I was acquainted with any of the Eaſtern languages; and whether I had ever been at Conſtantinople?"—"I have been," replied I, "in this great town when I was a child; and that my father and mother were then in ſlavery. My father is dead, and my mother is married again to a Chriſtian Greek. I underſtand Arabic and Turkiſh, and am perfectly ſkilled in the ſchool Greek." "What do you mean by ſchool Greek?" replied the cardinal. "It is different from the vulgar Greek," anſwered I, "which is ſo corrupted, that learned people will not give themſelves the trouble to underſtand it." He afterwards bade me go into a little cloſet, where I ſhould find one of his ſecretaries, who would need my help; where I had no ſooner entered, but the ſecretary preſented me with a Turkiſh manuſcript, to turn into Latin or Italian, if I could not do it into French. I immediately tranſlated it into Latin, and now will inform thee (wiſe Miniſter and Governor of the great Empire of the true Faithful), of the contents of it.

The Chriſtian derviſes, called in France Cordeliers,

keep, as thou knoweſt, in Jeruſalem, the ſepulchre of their Meſſias, by a privilege which Zelim, the conqueror of Paleſtine, granted them. Theſe religious have neither peace nor truce with the Greek Chriſtians, and they have ſuch differences together, as are of ill conſequence to all; they perſecute one another without ceaſing, and ſpread abroad moſt bitter ſatires againſt each other. Each party makes ill reports to his ſuperior of that which is oppoſite, and mixes among ſome truths, a great many lies and abſurd ſtories. But it appears to me, that the Greeks, who naturally love cabals, and have the reputation of great romancers, are more dexterous than their adverſe party to do miſchief.

The Chriſtian derviſes have repreſented a great many things to this cardinal, to authoriſe their pretenſions againſt the Greeks, by means of the French ambaſſador. They not only reproach the Greeks with ſeveral injuſtices and violences, but accuſe the cadi's of cruelty and tyranny, and the ſoldiers which guard Jeruſalem of inſupportable exactions. Thou ſhouldſt be thoroughly informed, whether theſe complaints be on juſt grounds; for they affirm, their patience is beyond the cruelty of the officers thou employeſt; yet that they can no longer bear the inſolencies which are now put on them, and are on the point of hazarding all by a ſtroke of deſpair. It does not belong to me to be advocate in the behalf of thoſe who are ſubmitted to thy authority, and eſpecially of thoſe who ought to bear the yoke of the Mahometans; but it is the duty of Mahmut, thy creature, to inform thee of the true circumſtances of affairs which come to his knowledge. Yet, if the oppreſſion of the derviſes be ſo great as they make it, thou that art the true light which enlightens the empire of the faithful, and ſcatterest the

darkneſs of it, thou wilt not permit thoſe that live under the public faith to be oppreſſed; and that four wretched Greeks ſhall be the cauſe of ſuch diſorders as may happen to Paleſtine, the complaints of which have reached the ears of the greateſt princes in Europe, and to whom ſuch things may give falſe ideas of the government of thoſe who are choſen by God to command all the world. Invincible Baſſa, I have diſcovered the true circumſtances of this affair, in the Turkiſh manuſcript which Cardinal Richlieu's ſecretary has put into my hands. I have fully diſcovered the falſe reaſonings of the Armenians and Greeks, who by common conſent have offered ſeveral things to the moſt venerable mufti, which I am ſure thou wilt not approve of; for they make moſt wretched excuſes, to colour over their perfidiouſneſs. They ſay the Romaniſts ought to be ill uſed on purpoſe to get rid of them from Paleſtine, being like the Jews, bitter enemies in their hearts to the welfare of the empire; that the time of the privileges granted by Zelim and his ſucceſſors is expired; and that moreover, it is great imprudence to ſuffer pilgrims to come over from diſtant countries, who under pretence of viſiting the Holy Sepulchre, and other places which ſuperſtition has conſecrated in Paleſtine, come to eſpy the actions of the Turks, examine the form of their government, viſit their places, and meaſure the roads and ports which they poſſeſs on the ſeas, which may prove of diſmal conſequence to the honour and intereſt of the Ottoman empire. I cannot inform thee how this memoir came into Richlieu's hands, but it was either ſold or intercepted at Conſtantinople, where it was addreſſed. However, I muſt not forget to tell thee one remark which this miniſter made, whence thou mayeſt gueſs, whether he reaſoned like a wiſe and prudent man: "Were I," ſays he, "the ſul-

tan's chief miniſter, I ſhould have added privilege to privilege to the monks cordeliers, not only becauſe juſtice requires it, but by reaſon of the advantage which might redound thereby to the Turks. I would make the ways to Jeruſalem eaſy to all people: I would leſſen the tribute; the pilgrims ſhould be well uſed, the Chriſtians in general, as well as the cordeliers; and I would ſeverely puniſh the officers and ſoldiers who guard Paleſtine, and the ſacred places, if they did otherwiſe." And then turning himſelf towards me; "Does it not appear to thee," ſays he, "that the beſt way to enlarge a kingdom is, to procure it an advantage which increaſes the number of its ſubjects? It is not enough that the prince ſhows the ornaments of his principality; he muſt ſhow alſo the prince, otherwiſe he will be like the philoſopher who was brought into Herod's preſence: "I do not ſee," ſays the king, "any thing elſe but the beard and cloak of a philoſopher." If the Turks do as the Scythians, when they made themſelves maſters of Athens, they will do better; for they would not burn the books which were gathered together in this famous town, alleging, that thoſe who applied themſelves to ſtudy, were not wont to do any great hurt. If the Chriſtians meditate on death, in viſiting and honouring the ſepulchres, the muſſulmans ſhould conſider, that if they make war againſt them, they have only to do with contrite and penitent perſons, who will therefore be the more eaſily defeated."

And this is a faithful and exact account of the converſation I had with this chief miniſter of ſtate. Suffer now that I add, as a note of the juſtice of the Chriſtians pretenſions, what ſome particulars of this kingdom had given me to underſtand, touching the juſtice and antiquity of the privileges of the religious Chriſtians at Je-

ruſalem. They make appear, that for above three hundred years theſe places do belong to the Roman Catholics; that Robert d'Anjou bought them of the Soldan of Egypt, and made thereof a preſent to the Roman church, and put them in poſſeſſion not only of the Holy Sepulchre, but of Calvary, of Bethlehem, and their dependencies; which ſettlement laſted till Zelim I. who therein confirmed the religious Chriſtians, with an augmentation of privileges, as ſoon as ever he had conquered Egypt and Paleſtine.

Francis I. King of France, having made an alliance with Solyman II. he inſerted in his treaty an article which confirmed the aforeſaid privileges, which were ſince ſolemnly renewed, till Amurath's time, who is now on the throne of the muſſulmans (an happy emperor, and maſter of the univerſe, for whoſe ſake alone the ſun enlightens the earth), and confirms what his predeceſſors had done in favour of the Chriſtian Roman derviſes, whom he has maintained without any regard to the vain pretenſions of the Greeks and Armenians, in their lawful poſſeſſion of Calvary, the grotto of Bethlehem, and the two little mountains thereunto belonging; and granted to them the keeping of the ſtone on which their Saviour Chriſt was embalmed, as well as that of the two ſmall domes covered with lead, under which is the Holy Sepulchre.

Thy humble ſlave Mahmut has an unpleaſant taſk impoſed on him by this French miniſter. He deſired me to give him ſome memoir in general of what I know, and bade me not wonder at his curioſity; it being his maxim, to make friendſhip with all ſtrangers of merit, whereby he has learned ſeveral important matters, and diſcovered ſecrets of great importance; and that it lay in my power to oblige him greatly, in giving him an exact account of

the forces of the Ottoman empire, and where they lay moſt open to be attacked. I anſwered him very modeſtly, that my buſineſs being only to ſay my breviary, he could not expect any great capacity from me in theſe matters. He ſmilingly bade me try what I could do in that matter; yet, however, he would not lay any thing upon me which might make me uneaſy; adding, that though he were a cardinal and a prieſt, yet he knew ſomething more than divinity, and that ſeveral Roman prelates had made war with great ſucceſs from St. Peter's chair. In fine, I could not but promiſe to gratify him; and thou ſhalt know in due time how I diſcharged myſelf; for I ſhall rather part with my life than act contrary to my allegiance. However, I muſt avoid giving him cauſe to ſuſpect me, and acquaint thee alone with the conferences I have had with him.

The holy Prophet multiply thy line, that the empire may not want miniſters of thy lineage; and the Great God ſo aſſiſt thy valour, that thou mayſt ſee the empire of Amurath without bounds.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

XVI.—*To the ſame.*

THE winter is ſo far advanced, that the king's armies lie quiet. It is no fable, that the dauphin was born with ſome teeth, and that no nurſe dare preſent him the teat, for fear of being bit with them. It is ſaid alſo, that there being no woman to be found about the court which can endure the ſuckling of him, there is a certain peaſant, a very healthful and hardy woman, that has undertaken that employment.

Here are four poſts arrived at the ſame time; one

comes from Rome, the reſt from the armies; but what news they bring is not yet known. It is thought that he which comes from Germany brings news of Alſatia and Briſac. The King of France is very well. Here are great preparations at Court for the carnival, in which time the Chriſtians play a thouſand mad pranks.

It is commonly ſaid the queen is with child again. Here are alſo many reports of the Grand Signior's expedition, both in prints and news-letters; and ſeveral prognoſtics are made on his enterpriſe on Babylon.

I ſhall inform thee by the firſt opportunity, what is ſaid here further of our ever-victorious emperor, and of thee alſo who art his chief miniſter, and the right arm of his empire; and at the ſame time tell thee what news come from the northern parts, of which, I ſuppoſe, the kaimacham has given thee ſome notice, as well as of the moſt conſiderable events of the war of Alſatia. The Immortal Being reward thee with the taking of Babylon, and all Perſia, as a reward of thy fidelity and valour, and pains thou haſt taken in ſerving faithfully thy maſter; and give thee the good fortune of leading triumphantly in chains the ſovereign of this empire, that he may be humbled to the kiſſing of the ſtirrup of the invincible Amurath's horſe.

Paris, 16th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

XVII.—*To* Bekir Basha, *Chief Treaſurer to the Grand Signior.*

Eliachim the Jew, whom thou thoughteſt ſo wiſe and virtuous a man, concealed his ill qualities at Conſtantinople, to diſcover them more advantageouſly at Paris. It was not his fault that my affairs were not entirely ruined.

The villain gave marks of his treachery in the very moment he ſaw me receive the money from Carcoa at Vienna upon thy order. I wrote to thee, I thought this man would be faithful in inſtructing me in the things which were neceſſary for me to know, and that I would be upon my guard in thoſe things wherein he might do me miſchief. Thou mayeſt eaſily imagine how I am vexed at preſent; for I can neither accuſe him, nor draw from him a juſt revenge. He made me believe, that a lawyer's ſon at Paris, a young man of great hopes, having received ſome diſpleaſure from his relations, was reſolved to be circumciſed, and embrace the Mahometan religion; and that he would not loſe ſo happy an occaſion of doing me ſervice; and therefore had contrived to hide this young man in a cloſe cellar, underneath the houſe where I lodge, without diſcovering to him the place where he ſhould be. He added, he had promiſed him money, and to procure him a conſiderable employ in Conſtantinople; and that he had, in fine, filled him with all the hopes which are wont to be given to thoſe that, through fickleneſs, or temporal advantages, forſake the religion of their fathers, to profeſs another. He alſo aſſured me, I ſhould have no trouble by this buſineſs, having taken all neceſſary care to tranſport his convert immediately to Tunis or Algiers, and from thence to Conſtantinople. I yielded to the reaſons he alleged, and this young man was brought in the night to the houſe where I lay, and hid without my ſeeing him. But the next day was not opened without a ſtrange ſcene in the houſe. I was aſtoniſhed to ſee a woman in a great rage ſtand before me, demanding ſatisfaction for violating her daughter and taking away her life, charging me with having forcibly carried her away, and then murdered her; and ſhe made me all

theſe reproaches in the company of a great many officers of juſtice.

Think then the confuſion I was in; the more I denied the crime, the more fiercely they charged it on me. I was threatened with death if I did not confeſs it, and give the ſatisfaction required of me; and at the ſame time this ſly Jezabel gave a ſign to one of the rogues her companions to go down to ſuch a place, and bring up her daughter, who was found alive in man's clothes, and melted into tears. It ſignified nothing to allege reaſons to prove my innocency; ſo that I was forced at laſt to throw out to theſe hungry wretches all the money I had, and they withdrew not till they had abuſed and reviled me in a moſt bitter manner. They got from me about an hundred and eighty-four ſequins of gold, and about an hundred piaſters of ſilver. Eliachim has the confidence to affirm he knew nothing of the cheat; and thinks to juſtify himſelf in ſaying, that if he who is a Jew was deceived by this young man, who pretended to become a Turk, there were a thouſand French people who had been cheated in like manner. I ſhall not here mention what I alleged to him to make him own his perfidiouſneſs, this being fruitleſs. On the other hand, reflecting on the employ I had, and my preſent circumſtances, it appeared to me neceſſary to diſſemble this truth, and to wait for ſome favourable occaſion to ſend this villain out of Paris, and to lay ſome ſnare for him at Conſtantinople. I give thee notice of this event for two reaſons, that I may have more money, and provide for my ſafety, believing myſelf in great danger as long as I live where ſuch a fellow comes. I ſhall not mention the intereſts of Mahmut's life; for I ſhall ever think it well ſpent ſhould it be loſt in the ſultan's ſervice, who is the only prop of the univerſe.

Thou wilt not want opportunities wherein thou mayeſt draw out of Eliachim's purſe the money he has robbed me of; neither wilt thou want means to remove from me ſo dangerous a companion. Thou ſhouldeſt know what the Chriſtians, who are always irreconcileable enemies to the Jews, ſay of them: they affirm, that theſe infamous wretches are the ſlaves of all nations excepting Turkey; and eſpecially in Conſtantinople, where they are maſters; they are at the ſame time careſſed and curſed; in the midſt of abundance they appear always miſerable; and yet they lay hands on all others properties. They add, that they be vagabonds like Ulyſſes, yet in whatever place they are they find a country like Homer; that they are all perfidious, and in public affect to appear religious, but live in grievous diſorder and luxury in their own houſes, ſticking at no ſort of crimes; bragging, that though it be not permitted them to purchaſe lands, yet they have found means to get into their hands a great part of the gold in Europe. The Chriſtians alſo ſay, their number muſt needs be great, ſeeing they never go to war; and there are none amongſt them that do not marry. They are, ſay they, ever cowards and poltrons where there is any danger or pains; but bold when they foreſee any certain gain in the markets they make. They never ſpeak the truth but when it is to deceive; they are ever liars, and there is no impiety or ſacrilege at which they will ſcruple; and theſe ſame Chriſtians affirm, they will commit, one time or other, ſome horrid crime in our great imperial city, being the Turks concealed enemies, though they put great confidence in them; and that we are willing to be deceived by them. I have written to Carcoa to ſend me ſpeedily ſome aſſiſtance; and I have been forced to borrow money of this ſame Eliachim, that traitor who has brought me into the condition I am

in. He could not deny me, though he pleads (like a rogue as he is) extreme poverty.

This trick which has been put upon me, will oblige me henceforward to keep a valet, but I will take one ſo little, that no man ſhall reproach me with chooſing much of an ill thing. Abandon not the poor Mahmut, who prays God that he would give thee all ſorts of proſperities, and make thee live in perfect health!, and wiſhes that all the monarchs of the infidel nations may become ſlaves to the ſultan, who ſhall be ever invincible! and that their riches may increaſe the treaſure thou guardeſt.

Paris, 15th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

XVIII.—*To* CARCOA *at Vienna.*

I HAVE received the money thou didſt ſend me, and immediately loſt it; yet without my fault. Bekir the treaſurer has been informed by my letters of the loſs I ſuſtained, and of another affair which is not neceſſary for thee to know. I alſo writ to him, I expected a ſpeedy ſupply from thee; for I ſhould demand it of thee. The Grand Signior's intereſt requires, that thou doſt not oblige me to give thee any other reaſon, and that thou deferreſt not to ſend me, as ſoon as may be, a ſufficient ſum of money. I can only inform thee, that in the attempt which was made on me, I loſt only what I can recover. My life is in ſafety, and, by a miracle, my affairs are in the ſame condition; for nobody has as yet diſcovered who I am. If thou writeſt any thing to Eliachim the Jew, be ſure be careful, and do not truſt him more than needs.

Send without loſs of time to the Porte the packet I

addreſſed to thee, and let me not languiſh in Paris in the expectation of money. It is true, gold is a rare commodity, becauſe every body deſires it. In this great town of Paris, one may ſooner find an hundred ſaints than one liberal perſon. The French ſay it belongs only to ſots to be free of their money; that a man ſhould ſuccour his friend with good counſel, and there is no need of any thing elſe. Learn, Carcoa, to have no need of other people's help, and have a care of being too free. Men that are accuſtomed to receive good turns, are generally wont to reckon them as debts.

The vanity of that philoſopher, who died with miſery, is a great example of men's inſolency. When Pericles would give him ſome ſuccour to prolong his life, he had the audaciouſneſs to ſay to him, "Thou carrieſt oil, O Pericles! becauſe thou haſt need of a lamp."

The Sovereign Moderator of all things keep thee from falling into neceſſity: This is the beſt wiſh the poor Mahmut can make for thee, in the low eſtate he finds himſelf.

Paris, 15th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

XIX.—*To* Donet Oglou.

Birkabeb's father was a rich man in Arabia, and his virtue was equal to his riches. He had nineteen children, who all died of the ſame diſtemper when they arrived to ſome years. Never family was more united and regular. Birkabeb was naturally of a quiet ſoft temper, but ſo holy a man, and at laſt died ſo poor, that a thief coming into his chamber one night to ſteal, and finding nothing, he called him to him, whilſt he was going away, and gave him his bed, as not being willing he ſhould de-

part empty-handed and loſe his labour. Being forced after this to lie on the floor, he received aſſiſtance from heaven by the hands of his wife; and ſcarce were twenty moons paſt ſince this adventure, but there happened another more ſtrange than the former; for he became on a ſudden very rich, and at the ſame inſtant ceaſed to be wiſe. He had a wife of as haughty a diſpoſition, and noiſy humour, as his was quiet and humble. This woman kept the flocks, and, with a florid youthfulneſs, was endued with great beauty; and it is not known by what accident a prince of the race of the Sophy of Perſia, who fled from his ſovereign's diſpleaſure, met with her. It is certain, that having recommended himſelf to her, and entreated her to ſave his life, and not diſcover him, ſhe led him into a very thick wood, which was never frequented, where the prince lived for fourteen years concealed. But growing at length tired with this ſort of life, he perſuaded this woman to go to Iſpahan diſguiſed in man's apparel, and find Arſamus, who had been his governor, and was a faithful and wiſe man, who would give her money and jewels, and a water which would ſo diſguiſe his countenance, that his neareſt friends could not know him; by which means he might hold on his way to Rhodes as he had determined. This woman ſoon arrived at Iſpahan with the prince's tokens, which were ſome ſtrange characters, and a ring which he uſually wore; which Arſamus knowing, he entruſted her with a conſiderable ſum, and ſeveral diamonds, together with a little golden pot wherein was this water before mentioned. This meſſenger returning in leſs than forty days time, found the prince dead in the grotto where he withdrew, with a paper in his hand, wherein he entreated the firſt which chance ſhould bring thither, to bury his body at the foot of a fair oak near by; and alſo entreated the

party which had his ring to carry it to the ſophy, and beg pardon for the offence he had given him. Birkabeb's wife then diſcovered to him all that had happened, led him into the wood, ſhowed him the dead prince, the letter, the ring, and the precious ſtones, and only reſerved to herſelf the ſecret of the water, which ſhe would not entruſt him with. Having after this reſolved to go to the ſophy, they went together, by whom they were well received, and laden with riches. Birkabeb took up his abode at Iſpahan, tarrying there four years, and there led a voluptuous and diſhoneſt life; whilſt his wife, leaving him, ran away with a young Perſian, and made ſeveral different voyages into Aſia, under ſeveral figures, and by means of the water which ſhe had received of Arſamus, ſhe deceived her huſband, and as many lovers as ſhe pleaſed.

The unhappy Birkabeb, being by his wife's lewdneſs become again poor, reſolved at laſt to return to his own country, where he died in his houſe, full of years, and in ſuch repute for holineſs, that the common report is, he wrought divers miracles. He left four ſons, of which I knew only Ababar, who is he thou mentioneſt in thy letter. And this is all I can tell thee of Birkabeb, of his ſon and grandſon Ababar, whom I look upon as a very honeſt man, and in whom I believe thou mayeſt put confidence; yet with this reflection, that he which is honeſt now may ceaſe to be ſo. Salute this perſon from me, and continue to love me. Anſwer my firſt letter, if thou haſt not done it; and this laſt alſo, if it be not too troubleſome to thee. Farewell.

Paris, 15th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1659.

XX.—*To* Egri Boynou, *the White Eunuch.*

I am ſtill alive, and in health; my fear has proved vain, and I have eſcaped the cardinal's hands without any danger; which will make me hope the ſame good fortune ſhould he ever ſend for me again. But thou ſhalt not know his buſineſs with me, that being a ſecret I am obliged to conceal.

Thou haſt, I hope, received the long letter I wrote thee, containing ſeveral particulars of Henry IV.'s life. I ſend thee now ſeveral of his ſayings, which may be termed ſentences. Read them with attention, they are as pleaſant as profitable for Muſtapha's uſe, who will find this great king to have had an invincible courage in adverſity, and great clemency and generoſity when he was in his proſperity: He was valour itſelf amongſt the ſoldiers, wiſe and pleaſant amongſt his courtiers, terrible in battle, eaſy and free amongſt the ladies, full of heat when any action offered itſelf, and courteous and affable to all ſorts of people.

Henry died in the ſame manner as moſt of our ſultans, that is to ſay, a violent death. He had lived fifty-ſeven years and ſome months, and reigned about twenty years. Several of his courtiers named him, like the firſt Cæſar, *All Women's Huſband*, becauſe, it was believed, he never ſaw any that he fancied, but he obtained her. He had fourteen children, ſix by the queen, and the others by four of his miſtreſſes. She who was called the Beautiful Gabrielle, of the family of Eſtree, ſeemed to have more power on his heart than all others; he often carried her about with him in his army, and to the places he beſieged in perſon. Henry was wont to ſay, "It was as difficult to know how to love well, to prepare a feaſt, and to dance at the ſame time agreeably, as to draw up an army for battle, conſiſting of ſeveral nations."

And when he was more advanced in years, he ſaid, "He loved dancing, for it made him appear young; he loved play, for it ſhewed he could be angry; and ladies, becauſe, he ſaid, he believed a man ought to love all the days of his life."

He was ſo impatient at play when he loſt, that he ſeemed to be as much concerned at the loſs of an hundred crowns, as at the taking of a city from him.

He often diſguiſed himſelf like a peaſant to approach his miſtreſſes without being known; and he has often carried on this humour to that degree, as to drive aſſes laden with fruit, and ſometimes carry a truſs of hay on his ſhoulders.

When he was peaceably ſettled in his kingdom, he ſaid to thoſe who were his greateſt intimates, "That he that grew weary at difficulties, did not deſerve thoſe things which might be acquired without trouble. I ſaw myſelf a king, ſaid he, without having a kingdom, an huſband without a wife, a captain without ſoldiers, and liberal without having any thing to give. I have had, in fine, a kingdom, children in lawful marriage, my troops are numerous, and I can diſpoſe of ſeveral millions."

This prince has been wounded ſeveral times, has received three wounds in the wars, and three others on his throne in the calms of peace. The actions which have gained him moſt glory have been, the winning of four battles, whence he came out conqueror, having very few troops, and his enemy having very numerous armies; the general peace he gave to Europe; the reconciliation of the Venetians with the Latin church, which had excommunicated them; and the great project I ſpake to thee about in my foregoing letter.

The pope's nuncio having one day aſked him how long he had made war? his anſwer was, "All the days of my

life; and my armies have never had any other general but myſelf." He was ſeen once for forty hours together on horſeback, and he led at that time an unhappy life, yet he bore up with an invincible courage, which made his ſoldiers call him the King of Iron. At the ſame time he held a morſel of coarſe bread in one hand, he would with the other form on the ground the deſign of an entrenchment; and when he would ſhow his friends the fineſt gallery of his palace, he would at the ſame time lead them down into his ſtables to ſee his horſes. He was wont to ſay, "That a king who would reign happily, muſt not do all things which he may." He had ſuch a greatneſs of mind, and was ſo merciful, that he pardoned thoſe who conſpired againſt his life. He ſhowed oft to thoſe that were about him, a ſoldier that was a ſtranger, and had wounded him in a battle, whom he recompenſed for doing his duty, and made him one of his guards.

Though he was not learned, yet he read books of his religion, and took a ſingular pleaſure in hiſtory, and converſing with learned men. Hearing one night the Annals of France, and being almoſt half aſleep in his bed, he bade his reader continue his reading, for he would ſleep no more that night.

Having laid ſiege to a moſt important place, in a moſt cold ſeaſon, he ſlipped one night, wrapt up in his cloak, to the places where the labourers were at work, and heard a ſoldier there curſing both God and himſelf; yet, without concerning himſelf any farther, he whiſpered in this ſoldier's ear, "God hears thee, and the king too, for ought thou knoweſt; if thou canſt not work, hold thy peace, and begone." The night following, the king ſetting to work himſelf, to excite others, he cauſed this ſoldier to be called unto him, and thus ſpake to him,

"Help me to remove this earth, and do not ſwear, for now the king hears thee."

To correct the vices, the injuſtices, and violences of others, he did not uſe leſſons, but gave examples. And one day that he heard one of his captains in a rage, for that his creditors had ſeized on all he had, to his horſe and ſword, he thus ſpake to him, "I that am thy ſovereign have paid my debts, and ſold all that I am worth for that end; and thou that art my ſubject oughteſt to do the ſame thing without murmuring:" And then, taking him apart, he gave him ſome jewels to help him out.

He often ſhowed the Marſhal de Biron to his friends, and thus ſpake to them about this captain, "This man knows how to act, as well as talk; and I have a great love for him." Yet he ſome time after cauſed him to be put to death, having three times pardoned his diſloyalty. This captain having continued his plots againſt his life, and againſt the ſtate, yet remembering he had loved him, he would ſpare one part of the ſhame of his puniſhment, and therefore ordered he ſhould be executed in priſon.

A ſcholar, two monks, and a fool, attempted at ſeveral times to kill him; and, as I have already told thee, he was ſeveral times wounded, and at laſt received a mortal ſtroke. A woman that had undertaken to poiſon him was burnt alive; and this fooliſh creature ſaid at her death, thinking to leſſen her crime, "That having foreſeen the king was to have been ſtabbed to death by the hand of a ruffian, ſhe would therefore procure him a more eaſy and honourable death."

Henry extremely loved hunting; and one day being in purſuit of a ſtag, and far diſtant from his company, a great ſpectrum appeared to him, with a black and terrible countenance, with all the equipage of a hunter, hav-

ing a leaſh of dogs, and ſaid theſe words to him in a diſmal tone, "Expect me, and hear me, repent and amend thy life; doſt thou underſtand me?" Thou mayeſt eaſily believe this viſion did not a little diſturb him. Yet he was more troubled at what a peaſant one day told him, who ſpake to him with great freedom; and his diſcourſe gave him that diſturbance which he could never get rid of. This man talked to the prince often with great familiarity when he found him in the field; and one day held this diſcourſe to him: "We are here two men; thou art a great king, and I a poor peaſant; yet I am perhaps a better man, becauſe I am more innocent: I have ſaid all the good I can of thy perſon to my friends, being ſenſible of thy juſtice, thy bounty and liberality: But all theſe virtues are horribly ſoiled by a grievous vice, which God will never forgive thee, unleſs thou leaveſt it off—thou committeſt, great prince, continual adulteries."

It is certain this prince acknowledged to ſome of his confidants, that he had that day heard in particular a preacher, who, without any ſkill in theology and rhetoric, had more moved him than all the doctors of the Sorbonne put together could do. This Sorbonne is a college in Paris, famous for learned divines.

This prince put a pleaſant trick on his confeſſor, who often urged him to forſake his miſtreſſes, and content himſelf with the embraces of his wife. He ordered a cook, who was wont to dreſs this doctor's victuals, to give him nothing to eat but partridges; which ſo greatly tired him, that he could not forbear complaining to the king himſelf, that this cook was ſo wilful and humourſome, that he would let him have nothing but partridges; ſo that he grew ſo weary with that kind of food, as made him ſick at the thoughts of it: The prince on-

ly anſwered him, "Always the queen, always partridges."

He loved learned men, and was a great patron of them; yet he ſaid that neceſſity obliged him to follow arms, but had he been left to his own inclination, he would have choſen to have been a ſcholar.

He had no great eſteem for phyſicians; as believing theſe kind of people wiſh ill to men; being of Tiberius's mind, who thought that a man of thirty years of age needed them not.

But on the contrary, he moſt eſteemed hiſtorians, and gave penſions to ſeveral of them in Germany, Italy, and other places; ſaying oft, that if any one could find the books of Titus Livy which are wanting, and thoſe of Tacitus, that he would willingly beſtow on him the ſame gift of three cities, which Xerxes made to a Greek captain; the one for bread, the ſecond for wine, and the third for clothing; and therefore there are above fifty authors who have written his hiſtory. He envied Auguſtus, by reaſon of the happineſs of having ſo many learned men in his reign; and that he more eſteemed Mæcenas, living a peaceable citizen at Rome, than Alexander triumphing over all Aſia; and that Mæcenas's patronizing and recompenſing illuſtrious men that excelled in Rome in all arts, had rendered his name immortal, together with that of his ſovereign.

He bewailed the great pains he had taken to obtain the command of others; and for his having learned nothing himſelf; affirming, it had been better for him to have learned to command himſelf. He was alſo wont to ſay, "That a wiſe prince ought never to refuſe a peace, unleſs it be found more prejudicial than war."

Being one day converſing with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, he began to walk very faſt; and perceiving the aſtoniſh-

ment of this miniſter, "You ſee (ſays he) that I can ſtill mount on horſeback, and march on foot too, if it be neceſſary; and that the gout has not deprived me of the uſe of my legs." His valour was ſo admirable, that a grandee of Spain being at a ceremony, wherein the ſword of this prince was carried naked before him, he ſtopt openly him that carried it, and kiſſed it, ſaying, he did this honour to the ſword of the firſt and chiefeſt captain of the world.

A chemiſt one day preſented him with a receipt to change lead into gold; to whom he anſwered, in making a large empty coffer to be brought to him, "When thou haſt filled this coffer with the metal thou talkeſt of, come to me, and I will give thee as much lead as thou wilt have."

Being at Fountainbleau, a place famous ſince ſeveral ages, and ſhowing all the buildings there to a foreign prince, who told him, when he had ſhowed him the chapel, "That he had lodged God in too narrow a compaſs;" he anſwered, "That God was better lodged in the heart, than in great edifices of ſtone."

When he drew the deſigns againſt the muſſulmans, which I mentioned in my other letter, he did an action of generoſity very beneficial to the Moors who were driven out of Spain, permitting above fifty thouſand men, who had paſt the Pyrenees, to embark themſelves in the ports of Provence and Languedoc, to retire into Afric. I cannot call to mind that time without bewailing the loſs of a million of perſons, who periſhed by divers accidents and miſeries.

After a battle, wherein Henry ran a great hazard, he ſaid, "He had often fought for victory, but at this time he fought for his life."

He had uſed more boots than ſhoes; and he vaunted

he had been leſs time in bed, than the Duke of Mayenne had been at table; this latter commanding then the army of the league.

This king deſired to be thought a real father to his ſubjects; he therefore applied himſelf in ſearching the means of redreſſing the infamous abuſes of the bar; but he advanced not much in the buſineſs, whatever care he uſed; it being impoſſible for him to bridle the covetouſneſs of the lawyers, and to hinder the length of ſuits, or correct the injuſtice of judges, to leave nothing to be done by his ſucceſſors. He ſeemed to be much troubled many times, when he ſpake of theſe kind of things, in that there were in Paris more courts and lawyers than in all the vaſt empire of the Turks; his deſign being, after the example of the muſſulmans, to make all ſuits, which were everlaſting by the knavery of the lawyers, to be decided in three days; and he therefore deſigned alſo to burn the books of all thoſe who had written infinite commentaries on this ſubject, which ſerved only to ruin the people, and cauſed oftentimes amongſt relations, friends, and neighbours, ſuch broils, as may be ſaid to do more miſchief than a civil war. He affirmed, that in imitating herein the Turks, he ſhould uſe his ſubjects as his real children, and hinder them from devouring one another; that he would cauſe ſharp nails and razors to be faſtened to the ſeats where the judges ſat, that thoſe who ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted might ſit thereon: And indeed in this particular I cannot but wonder at the Chriſtians blindneſs.

We ſee oftentimes decided in one only campaign, the differences of two great ſtates; but a ſuit in law for twenty ſequins ſhall often laſt a man's whole life, and perhaps be entailed on his heirs.

But hear a remarkable example of the ſincerity of this

ſovereign. There were who would have perſuaded him to have apprehended the Duke of Savoy, who came to Paris to terminate ſome differences he had with him.—He anſwered thoſe that adviſed him with this: "That Francis the Firſt, one of his predeceſſors, had taught him, a prince was more obliged to do what he had promiſed, than to obtain what he deſired; that it was in his power to have apprehended a prince far more conſiderable, but would not do it, ſuffering the Emperor Charles the Fifth to paſs out of his kingdom, who had come therein on his word. After this (added he) ſhall Henry give ſuch an example to princes? If the Duke of Savoy has often broke his word with me, it does not therefore follow I muſt imitate him: Crimes can never be authoriſed by examples." The ſame Duke of Savoy having aſked him what revenue he drew from his kingdom, he anſwered him in theſe terms, "I draw as much as I will, becauſe I make myſelf beloved; whence it is that my ſubjects count all our eſtates are common."

He anſwered very pleaſantly to a prince's envoy, who came with a compliment of condolence for the death of his ſon, who had been dead near a year, "That he was no longer grieved at that loſs, ſeeing God had given him two more ſince."

A captain of great reputation having ſaid, that the king's liberalities, though ſeveral times reiterated, could not oblige him to love him; Henry ſent him word, "He would heap ſo many favours on him that he would force him at laſt."

He often uſed this proverb, "More flies are taken with a drop of honey, than a ton of vinegar."

A monk entertaining him one day about military affairs, "Open your breviary, father (ſaid he), and ſhow me where you learned theſe fine leſſons."

One day a tailor preſenting him with a book of politics, he ſaid to the chancellor, who was there preſent, Monſieur Chancellor, cut me out a ſuit of clothes; here's a tailor who underſtands your trade, and tells me how I ſhall govern my kingdom."

One day, when the pope's nuncio was at a great feaſt, where there were between twenty and thirty ladies of great beauty, he told this prelate, "He had been in ſeveral battles, but never found himſelf in ſo great danger before."

Nothing ſeems more agreeable than the anſwer he made to the provoſt of the merchants of Paris, who was urgent with him to conſent to an impoſt, which was to be laid on the fountains of the town, to furniſh the expence of forty deputies of the Switzers, who came into France to renew their ancient alliance with this kingdom; and his anſwer was, "That this magiſtrate ſhould find ſome other expedient than to change water into wine; which was a miracle that never any body wrought but Jeſus Chriſt;" who is, as thou knoweſt, the Chriſtians ſaviour; and, for thy farther inſtruction, it is neceſſary for thee to know, the Switzers love wine above all things in the world, and that not without reaſon.

This prince went to the wars at the age of fifteen, and at ſeventeen killed an enemy, and in the year following he ſaved the life of one of his captains, and had his horſe killed under him. He was in five battles, and in more than an hundred combats, and at the ſiege of above two hundred places. He ſuſtained ſeven different wars, in which his enemies acknowledged, that he had fifty-five armies upon him at ſeveral times, and in different places, and always obtained ſome conſiderable advantage.

Thoſe that have given him the term of Great, have given him his true name. He was highly eſteemed by

all nations; and thou knoweſt very well, that our ſultans, though the mightieſt monarchs in the univerſe, have admired this great prince's fortune and valour.

Above fifty hiſtorians have written his life; above five hundred poets have publiſhed his praiſes.

I will leave thee at preſent the liberty of comparing this king with thoſe whom thou wilt chooſe from amongſt the heroes.

If Mahomet XI. has not done more than him, he may be compared to him in warlike actions, with this difference, that King Henry conquered the Gauls who were of his patrimony, and Mahomet conquered twelve kingdoms and an empire, becauſe he was perſuaded that all the earth belonged to him. Henry ſubdued the city of Paris, and Mahomet made himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople.

The King of France left an infinite number of marks behind him of his grandeur, on marble, and in the writings of famous authors, and Mahomet left only on his tomb, thoſe which ſhowed what he had deſigned to execute, but never could do it, which was, to take Rhodes, and ſubdue proud Italy.

We muſt alſo acknowledge, there was never found in any Mahometan prince, the admirable clemency of Henry, ſhowing himſelf herein greater than in vanquiſhing his enemies; contrary to Mahomet, who ſhowed only great kindneſs to an ox, whom he cauſed to be carefully fed, becauſe he would never forſake the tomb of his maſter, whom that prince had killed, abiding always by it, and expreſſing his ſorrow by horrible bellowings. On all other occaſions he was very cruel; far from the humour of this French king, who heaped benefits on thoſe who drew blood of him. Mahomet, by a barbarous cruelty, cauſed the bellies of twenty of his inno-

cent pages to be ript open, to diſcover him that had eaten a melon in his garden.

Henry was a great lover of ladies, and an extreme admirer of that ſex; and Mahomet, jealous of the too great beauty of his miſtreſs, cut off her head himſelf in a full divan. And farther, if Mahomet gave in the eaſt, a great example of juſtice, in putting his own ſon to death, for deflouring the daughter of the Baſſa Achmet in a bath; Henry gave a greater in his own perſon, in repairing at the head of his army, the outrage offered to a young girl, from whom he could not fear any vexatious conſequences.

Be ſure, however, to be ſilent in theſe judgments I make, and ſhow thyſelf diſcreet, if thou intendeſt to hold any correſpondence with me.

Imitate the bees; gather from ſo many flowers preſented thee, what appears to thee the ſweeteſt and moſt proper to form Muſtapha's mind, and ſupple his ſpirit like wax.

I could relate to thee more things touching this Henry, but there is no neceſſity of writing all; that thou mayeſt have ſpace to imagine what ſuch a prince might have done, who had re-eſtabliſhed his fortune by his valour alone.

Let me know of thy departure; and when thou ſhalt arrive at the place of thy retreat, forget not thy faithful friend Mahmut, who wiſhes thou mayeſt prove an happy tutor to the ſon of a prince, and a faithful miniſter of a wiſe emperor.

Paris, 18th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

BOOK III.

LETTER I.—*To* Muslu Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

Scarce had I finiſhed my letter to Egri Boynou, when news came from the coaſt of Provence, of ſo extraordinary and ſcandalous an event, that I cannot but inform thee, who art a wiſe and experienced perſon, of it; and becauſe I would have thee ſet it down in the ſacred regiſter-books of the empire of which thou haſt the charge.

Aſſam Baſſa, a corſary of Algiers, died at the age of forty years; the relation of whoſe death was attended with ſuch horrid circumſtances, that even the enemies of the Alcoran do deteſt them.

It is ſaid, that being ſenſible he was near his end, he cauſed two young Chriſtian ſlaves to be ſtrangled, who were nobly deſcended, and for whoſe ranſom great ſums of money might have been expected, without alleging any reaſon for his cruelty; nay, after he had confeſſed he had no cauſe of complaint againſt them, having obſerved from certain tokens in their countenances that they were of a ſweet diſpoſition and inclined by nature to be faithful. When he was laying out, there was found a kind of fine ſcarf about him, with theſe words embroidered on it in letters of gold; "Aſſam Baſſa will have the handſomeſt of his ſlaves to be buried alive with him, being deſirous of good company in his voyage into the other world."

The report of ſo terrible an adventure, has increaſed the hatred of the French againſt us, and that in ſo exceſſive a manner, that I am forced to keep myſelf concealed, leſt I ſhould by my zeal diſcover myſelf, being

not able to endure the blaſphemies of our enemies. There is no queſtion but this cruel monſter is kept by the black angels in the other world.

God grant that ſo horrid a crime may not corrupt the reſt of Afric. However, may I be ſo free as to counſel you; let the body of this impious wretch Aſſam be dug up and burnt, and his aſhes thrown into the ſea, to drown the memory of him.

Mahmut ſalutes thee from the town of the univerſe, the fulleſt of noiſe; and wiſhes thee at Conſtantinople, or wherever elſe thou art, a long ſequel of happy years, and after death the enjoyment of the "bliſs of our hundred twenty-four thouſand prophets."

Paris, 18th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

II.—*To the Invincible* VISIER AZEM, *at the Camp under Babylon.*

BEFORE I give thee an account, great and magnanimous Viſier, of whatever I have done to ſatisfy the curioſity of Cardinal Richlieu, I am obliged to tell thee how I ſpend my leiſure hours.

It is impoſſible I ſhould obſerve exactly the motions of this court, without following it, and holding a correſpondence with people of all ſorts, as tradeſmen, ſoldiers, ſcholars, ſeamen, politicians, and even muſicians.

The court conſiſts of all theſe profeſſions, and there are ſome particular perſons who are maſters of all theſe ſciences, of which number is Cardinal Richlieu. He is not content with this his knowledge, but ſeeks ſtill for farther light in the commerce of all perſons of merit who arrive here; neglecting nothing which may enrich this kingdom with new diſcoveries in arts and ſciences, out of

love to his country, and deſire to render his miniſtry more famous.

Thou ſeeſt by this, invincible Baſſa, that to keep company with courtiers, who have ſo many different qualities, a man muſt have ſome for his ſhare, that he may ſay ſomething in his turn, and not be always a bare hearer of other people's diſcourſe.

For this purpoſe, the particular ſtudy to which I applied myſelf whilſt I was a ſlave in Sicily, does much help me, though not ſufficiently. It was books I read in this iſland, not men. Now, knowing my buſineſs required much diſſimulation, an awakened mind, and eſpecially prudence, eloquence, and learning, to ſpeak properly on occaſions; great reading, to obtain the knowledge of ancient and modern things; a refined policy, to diſcover or conceal one's ſelf, and to counterfeit ſometimes a mighty honeſt man: Nothing, I ſay, appeared to me more conducing to this purpoſe, than the turning over hiſtories; and therefore I have earneſtly applied myſelf to this work. And becauſe few books are not ſufficient, and a great many breed confuſion, I have happily got admiſſion into the acquaintance of an ancient learned man, whoſe ſtudy conſiſts of none but choice books, and has travelled over moſt parts of the world; not like Apollonius, to learn the language of birds and beaſts; but to know the cuſtoms, laws, virtues, and defects of nations. I was firſt for informing myſelf of all the prodigies which the God of the Jews had done in favour of that ungrateful people. I afterwards inquired into the life and doctrine of the Meſſias, whom the Chriſtians worſhip. I alſo looked into what had been done conſiderable at Athens and Sparta, Thebes, Rome and Carthage, and carefully remarked what divinities were adored in thoſe ſo famous places, and found that the great philoſophers and captains, who made ſuch a noiſe about

their religions, had at bottom none at all. Having run over what the Chriſtians call the Old and New Teſtament, the hiſtories of Joſephus, Xenophon, Polybius, Thucydides, Livius and Tacitus, my greateſt applicat on has been, and ſhall be for the future, to read and meditate on the works of the great Plutarch, eſpecially his lives of illuſtrious Grecks and Romans, related by him with ſo great exactneſs. And thus far have I arrived in this ſhort ſpace, and here I have ſtopped. I have learned by the reading of Plutarch, to amuſe the Cardinal Richlieu; to whom I offered myſelf two days ago, and have put into his hands the following diſcourſe, made after the manner of Chriſtians, and have ſtripped myſelf, if a man may ſo ſpeak, of the manner and ſtyle of the Turks, as I have done of their habits, the better to diſguiſe Titus, the faithful ſlave of the great Amurath.

" *Great Cardinal, and moſt ſage Miniſter of the Greateſt of Chriſtian Kings.*

" Titus of Moldavia is come to wait on you, according to your commands, not to entertain you with the riches of Aſia, nor in what manner, by the wiſdom of your counſels, and forces of the king your ſovereign, you may deſtroy the mighty Turkiſh empire, of whom you have no reaſon to complain; but, to tell you what ſeems moſt agreeable to the greatneſs of your genius. Know then, ſage moderator of the French monarch, that I ſhall not offer any thing which may make you hate me, and repent of believing me, ſeeing what I propoſe is an eaſy enterpriſe, and full of glory. Thy king has a ſon, who will one day inherit the greatneſs and authority of his father; you know not the temper and diſpoſitions which this heir may have, being as yet ſo much a child, that a man cannot gather any thing certain of

this matter. But a prince that has been ſo long looked for, requires extraordinary deſigns to be laid for him, and great preparations made betimes to raiſe a palace that may be worthy to entertain him. I would propoſe to you a palace, I ſay, of miraculous architecture, the like was never ſeen or imagined, and which you may with your own hands rear up in Paris; which muſt be of a ſquare form, whoſe corners ſhall regard Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, and whoſe richneſs ſhall draw all nations to it. You will not need ſtone, ſand, wood, nor iron for this work. The architects which you ſhall employ ſhall have the ſecret, with their pen, ink, and paper, to raiſe this edifice, which ſhall be of a more laſting durance, than the pantheon of Agrippa, and whereon, as on the temple of Solomon, there ſhould be no noiſe of hammers.

« Think not, wiſe miniſter, they are chimeras which Titus has in his head. Hear then the deſign of this majeſtical palace, whoſe foundations are already laid by Plutarch, with materials more precious than gold or rubies. Thou knoweſt the happineſs this philoſopher had, of rendering immortal the actions of ſo many great men, of whom, perhaps, there might have been no mention, had Plutarch lain ſilent. Men now read in the moſt remote provinces of the Indies, written on leaves and barks of trees, the lives of Alexander, Cæſar, Scipio, Pompey, and Xerxes. Amongſt the ſolitaries of the moſt deſart parts of Arabia, and amongſt the derviſes who dwell at Medina, are found written in Arabian characters, the hiſtories of Numa, Ariſtidas, Cato, Lycurgus, and Epaminondas. The Spaniards and Portugueſes have rendered this author ſo famous in China and Japan, that theſe barbarians, not contented with having tranſlated into their languages all the lives of the Greeks and Ro-

mans, they have ordered (if I miſtake not) that every five years new copies be made, to the end they may be eternally preſerved. I have ſeen myſelf at Conſtantinople above an hundred volumes in ſilken paper, wherein the works of this famous Greek are read with veneration by the greateſt captains, lawyers, and divines; and theſe works are enriched with moſt curious notes in Arabic, in Perſian, and the Turkiſh language, by the expreſs orders of the ſultans, who make them be preſerved as illuſtrious monuments of the ancient Greek eloquence. You are not ignorant of the eſteem which Solyman the Great had of Pompey, Cæſar, Pyrrhus, and Alexander; and that he never undertook any military enterpriſe till he had conſulted theſe great maſters in the art of war; being wont to ſay, He knew not whether Alexander or Pyrrhus had ſhowed more valour in engagements, than Plutarch had ſhowed wit and judgment in deſcribing them. But in a voyage I made into Germany, what did not an old rabbin tell me, in ſhowing me the lives of illuſtrious men of this incomparable author tranſlated into Hebrew, which he carried ever about with him? He aſſured me, that the curious of his religion ſet ſuch a value on them, that there are above ten thouſand manuſcript copies diſperſed in the ſynagogues, both in the eaſtern and weſtern parts.

"Men, women, and children, know of what account this famous author is in all our Europe. He now ſpeaks all languages; the Engliſh, the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Polanders, and Hollanders, have naturalized him among them. And you know very well, Sir, that in this kingdom of France, the learned, not content with having him tranſlated into their idiom, they carefully adorn their libraries with this author in his own natural

tongue, and have collected the Latin, Italian, and Spaniſh verſions of him.

"But it is now ſixteen hundred years ſince Plutarch keeps ſilence; ſo many men famous for their knowledge, and ſo many great captains who have lived ſince, are unknown to the world, becauſe they have met with no Plutarch to know them. And this is the ſtately building which I offer you to finiſh who are ſo great a lover of glory; for God has given you a mind, with a neceſſary power, to finiſh what Plutarch has ſo profitably begun.—Raiſe up immediately, by your authority, on the precious foundation which this incomparable philoſopher has laid, the walls and roof of this vaſt building. Order lodgings to be made ready for all the heroes who could not enter into this firſt edifice, I mean thoſe illuſtrious dead, whoſe lives have not been carefully collected, and who ſhould honour Europe, Aſia, and Africa, where they were born; and the new world will yield you wherewith to fill this palace with Atabalippa's and Montezuma's.

"Hereby wilt thou be the reſtorer of thoſe ruins which time has made; and in raiſing the ſtatues of ſo many excellent perſons in civil adminiſtrations, in war, and in good letters, you will raiſe up an infinite number throughout the world, as the firſt emperor of the Romans did. It is to no purpoſe to ſay, there are a great many authors that have written ſince Plutarch the actions of ſeveral great commanders, kings, and great miniſters, whoſe virtues were eminently conſpicuous both in peace and war. I hope I ſhall not give juſt offence in ſaying, that few of theſe writers have obſerved Plutarch's excellent method; for either they appear obſcure, by reaſon of their great conciſeneſs, or the facts are ordinarily confounded in general hiſtories, or written by intereſted or

paſſionate pens, who diſguiſe the truth, and impoſe fabulous relations on the world. For a proof of this, be pleaſed to examine particular events related in the lives of Francis I. king of France, and of the Emperor Charles V. and you will find there are thoſe who aſſure us, that Charles died a ſaint; and that ſcarcely was he expired when "flower-de-luces were ſeen to ſpring up in his chamber, which yielded a moſt admirable ſcent;" whilſt others affirm, that this hero died an heretic by the aſſiſtance of his confeſſor, who had embraced the Lutheran doctrine. And how many romances are made of Francis I.? Has it not been ſaid, that he fought a duel with this emperor; and that this prince, paſſing through France, the king, by a motive of generoſity (beyond any precedent) offered him his kingdom? That Charles had one day ſat on Francis throne, and condemned a malefactor, and afterwards reprieved him, as a mark of his authority? And has it not been moreover ſaid, that Francis took Charles in a battle? How many falſe relations have been made of Andrew Doria, and Barbaroſſa, two famous ſea captains, the one a Chriſtian, and the other a muſſulman, and both of them chief admirals of two mighty Emperors, Charles V. and Solyman? Has it not been confidently affirmed, that Barbaroſſa, being in the Archipelago, gave a viſit, in the diſguiſe of a monk, to Doria? That in an iſland where this interview was made, they had ſworn, one on the goſpel, the other on the Alcoran, to help one another to conſerve their authority, which their employs gave them, at ſea; and to make themſelves more neceſſary to their ſovereigns, they were always to avoid a deciſive combat, that they might not ruin one another? That they had moreover both ſigned this treaty with their own blood? Has there not been added to this fable, that the Turkiſh admiral ſent

to Doria a Moor, who pretended to be a fugitive from the Ottoman army, and wore two pearls of an inestimable price in his ears; and that in exchange Doria had assured Barbarossa not to interrupt him whenever he pleased to invade any of the coasts of Italy?

"It is time, that under thy auspicious conduct, the lives of great personages be cleared from those false relations which corrupt them, and be orderly inserted into the books of the most excellent Plutarch, with such a kind of title,

"Here is the rest of the Lives of Illustrious Men, "from the Emperor Trajan to Lewis the Just, of those "that have excelled in Arms, Learning, Affairs of State, "and of those who have held the first Rank in the "Church in all Parts of the World; and these Histo- "ries have been collected by a College of the learnedest "Men in Europe, consisting of Spaniards, French, Ita- "lians, and Germans, under the auspicious conduct of "his Eminency Cardinal Richlieu."

"I would have three persons of each nation to attend this work, and who should make their abode in Paris, as being the principal city in France. And I propose Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and French, as the most polished nations, and who have furnished the world with the most able men. Now, every nation having its particular way of speaking and acting, the edifice will be the more agreeable, and each architect will have greater room to show his skill. Those who shall read these works, will find, in the softness of the French style, wherewithal to mollify the too severe gravity of the Spanish eloquence. The sincerity of the Germans, ever attended with some kind of dryness, will appear without rudeness with the flowers and good sense of the Italian writers. And as all the world will be interested in this magnificent design, so we must

not doubt but the wiſeſt of all theſe ſtates will take care in the choice of the ſubjects which they will propoſe. And, in fine, if thou wilt have the chief men in the world, thou needeſt not want the ſecret of raiſing up Plutarchs. Be not weary of giving marks of thy liberality; for if thou wilt have Titus Livy's, become Mæcenas.

"It doth not belong to me to ſay in what manner it is neceſſary on this occaſion to ſeparate them of ſeveral nations, and to diſtribute theſe employs: Thou art equitable and prudent, ſo that this work being begun, the end will have a ſucceſs anſwerable to its beginning. I ſhall only put thee in mind, that thou wilt not a little contribute to render thy immortality more glorious, if thou remembereſt the Turks, thy ſworn enemies, being perſuaded thou mayeſt find amongſt the Ottoman emperors, baſſas and viſiers, wherewithal to enrich the new Plutarch. Let not the greatneſs of the work diſcourage thee; how great ſoever it be, thy wit and courage are above it; and thou wilt not want ancient and modern authors to aſſiſt thee. Suetonius will furniſh thee with the Lives of the Cæſars, which may be left entire as they are. Diogenes Laertius gives as good an account of many of the philoſophers. You will receive advantage from the works of Æmilius Probus, Paulus, Jovius, and ſeveral others, who have acquired immortal reputation by the books which they have given the public. You will find a draught already made of the hiſtory of two hundred and twenty-eight emperors, from Julius Cæſar to Ferdinand III. and Ibrahim I. the one emperor of Germany, and the other of Turkey; which thou ſhalt cauſe to be carefully examined by the college, to clear up ſuch things as are obſcure, adding what is wanting, and retrenching events of which there is no ſufficient proof, and which ſeem fabulous; and, in a word, for drawing up particular lives

which are to be met with in general hiſtories, which have been the method of moſt writers of late ages.

" I would alſo have Plutarch's manner followed, of comparing the illuſtrious men of one nation with thoſe of another; where the diſcreet writer having weighed the reaſons which make for the one and the other, pronounces a ſentence which does both delight and inſtruct the reader.

" The moſt important inſtruction then which can be given, being the ſecret of knowing men perfectly, who ſeek with ſo great care to hide themſelves; the true means for this is the choice of matter, that the reader may not loſe his time, nor ſtudy in vain, but gather the fruit which all men of ſenſe ſearch for, which is, to know what is good, that they may follow it, and evil, to avoid it. On this ground you will be eaſily perſuaded, there is greater pleaſure to behold the firmneſs of Scipio, who paſſes with one only galley to find out Siphax, than there is in conſidering him when he gives battle to Hannibal in the plains of Rama. We are more edified in ſeeing this young general a conqueror, and yet ſo continent, as to ſend the fineſt woman in the world, who was his priſoner, to Lucius the Spaniſh prince, her huſband, without touching her, than in the relation of an hundred ſieges of places, where the effects which the ſoldiers fury produces hunger and thirſt, and the effuſion of human blood yields horror inſtead of diverſion. In like manner, Sir, you will acknowledge, that a prince or captain will be more inſtructed by ſeeing Francis, who lived like a king, though in priſon at Madrid, who careſſes and recompences learned men all the world over; and in ſeeing Fabricius, who refuſes and deſpiſes the greateſt honours which are offered him, with immenſe riches, and who ſnatches away the poiſon from the mouth of the greateſt enemy of the Roman people, than all the com-

bats and moſt bloody battles fought by Pyrrhus, Charles V. and the great Tamerlane.

"I have made you this long diſcourſe as a mark of my obedience; and Titus of Moldavia, at the feet of your eminency, ſupplicates you to conſider, that with by your negotiations, counſels and armies which receive your orders, you ſhall have added new kingdoms to that which your maſter holds; when, for the benefit of trade and navigation, you ſhall have joined all the ſeas together; and when, in a word, you ſhall raiſe bridges in Paris, pyramids with more palaces than were built by the Cæſars, and all the kings of Egypt; theſe piles will not be immortal, but ſubject to the injuries of time: Whereas, on the contrary, if you ſend for the twelve architects which I mentioned, to raiſe the ſtately palace aforecited, all the world will bleſs the name of Armand Cardinal de Richlieu, reſtorer of the republic of learning almoſt ruined; and who, like another Archimedes, hath known by the examples of the virtue of illuſtrious men, ſnatched away by death out of the world, to combat and deſtroy the vices and ignorances of the living."

If thou approveſt not, magnanimous Viſier, what I offered to the King of France's miniſter, puniſh me not for a fault which was not deſigned, having, on the contrary, imagined to do thee a very agreeable piece of ſervice. I thought I could not take a better courſe to conceal thy ſlave Mahmut, and to divert this cardinal from ſome projects, which I am informed he deſigns againſt the Turkiſh empire. Should he undertake the great work I ſet before him, thou ſeeſt the ſultans will have ſome ſhare in it; and he will, I ſay again, have by this means, not to mention any thing elſe, his hands ſo full of buſineſs, that he will not have the leaſt time or ability to moleſt us.

I ſupplicate thee, proſtrate at thy feet, to call to mind the general diſlike of what happened to Athens, when it was ſacked and taken, ſuch prodigious numbers of books being burnt in all arts and ſciences, which had been a collecting ſeveral ages, and preſerved with ſuch great care; and ſo much the more, inaſmuch as one may be aſſured there is nothing to be feared from thoſe that make learning their whole buſineſs, who are always averſe to war, as finding their reckoning only in the tranquillity of a well eſtabliſhed peace.

Thou ſhalt receive, by the firſt opportunity, whatever I can diſcover of importance for thee to know, either for the good of the empire, in which thou holdeſt ſo great a rank, or to ſatisfy thy curioſity, provided the froſts hinder not the paſſage of couriers, as they will aſſuredly retard the progreſs of the armies, which are conſtrained to lie ſtill during this rigorous ſeaſon.

God give thee an entire victory over the enemies of the mighty Amurath, and make thee the conqueror of all nations.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

III.—*To* Lucano Abufel-Saad, *an Egyptian Knight.*

The king, ſome days ago, was preſent at a ball where there was a great number of perſons of quality of both ſexes. Cardinal Richlieu, who never loſes the ſight of this prince, was there alſo. It was obſerved, that at the end of this divertiſement, the cardinal would have gone out before every body, but dared not, and indeed could not get through the crowd, which made him ſo impatient, as was remarked by all, even the king himſelf, who taking him a little a-part, very ſeriouſly bid him paſs

on, seeing he was master. Now, what did this minister do in this astonishment, but answer nothing? And taking a flambeau out of the hand of one of the pages, he carried it himself before the king, with a countenance that showed neither despite nor confusion. Those that took notice of the name of master, which the king had given him, interpreted it in his favour; and there were them who thought, that in abasing himself so low, he plainly showed the design he had of raising himself the higher; however, every one thereon spake what he thought most proper.

I give thee an account of this passage, remembering what thou didst in the presence of thy master, throwing thyself out at a window, to take up a little note which Amurath by chance had let fall; which action of thine, being known in this country, this action of the cardinal was compared with it; yet with this difference, that the cardinal, without rising from the ground, has made a greater leap than thou. God preserve thee from falling into a precipice, if thou beest fool enough to leap a second time.

Paris, 8th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

IV.—To Mehemet, *Page-Eunuch.*

Thou hast recovered from a great sickness, and I expect one. I have had for some days a faintness, which does extremely depress me; but by the grace of God, I need not yet the physician. The letter which I received from thee this moon, has given me some ease in my indisposition, which is no new thing with me, being necessitated to live so far from my friends, country, yea, and religion too. And though it may seem difficult to be a

ſaint, in paſſing one's days in a profane place, yet think not my piety grows lukewarm, or my friendſhip diminiſhed; ſeeing I have made a moſque of my heart, where friends are ever preſent. Be then perſuaded, it is impoſſible for Mahmut to become unfaithful, and loſe the affection he has for his friends; for he never ceaſes to love where he has once begun. It is true, indeed, that I call myſelf Titus at preſent, and am clothed in an odd ſort of dreſs; yet this is no hinderance of my affection to my religion, my country, and my friends.

The ancient Greeks have written a great deal about friendſhip, and the duties of a friend: But there remains ſtill behind more than what they have ſaid, as there remains more to do than they have done. The word, friend, is a common name, and appropriated by moſt people; but where wilt thou find a man that gives proofs of a true and unfeigned friendſhip? I think I am no hypocrite; be thou as true to me at Conſtantinople, and inform me what paſſes in the ſeraglio, and how it goes with our friends and relations in all parts.

I ſhall give thee no account of the tranſactions of the infidels, amongſt whom I live, being tired with writing them to the Grand Viſier and the Kaimacham. Imitate me not herein, for thou aboundeſt with leiſure; let me then hear from thee every moon.

I have had ſeveral fits of laughter, at the pleaſant adventure of the chambermaid to the old ſlave, with the eunuch Melech Aubi. Bleſſings on the heart of Mahomet: I believe the holy Prophet will laugh himſelf in his paradiſe, when the angel his meſſenger, who brings him news from this world, ſhall give him an account of what theſe two perſons have ridiculouſly done in honour of him. Could there ever be a greater ſimplicity, than to eat every night a verſicle of the Alcoran, written on a piece

of China ſatin? Whence did this eunuch, thy comrade, learn this ſtrange ſuperſtition; and by what ſpirit did he authoriſe that of this ſlave, in taking the pains to write theſe verſicles with his own hand? And when could they imagine both of them they ſhould make an end of this feaſt, ſeeing the whole Alcoran could not be eaten in leſs than ſix thouſand forty-three days, the book containing ſo many verſicles? Pray let me know what is done to them. They deſerve not, in my poor judgment, an over-rigorous puniſhment, their crime being only a ridiculous devotion. The great and venerable mufti will ſoon decide the buſineſs; yet I would fain know the manner.

I ſhall now impart to thee an account of a viſit which I gave a ſolitary in my travels into Germany, who ſpent his days far from the commerce of the world, in a little hermitage, about fifteen miles diſtance from Vienna. This man, who is now very old, has paſſed forty years of his life in great auſterity, doing every thing our famous Santons are celebrated for; and thou ſhalt know what moved him to this ſevere penance, and to retire after this manner. It is ſaid, that in his youth, having been threatened for ſome miſdemeanor with impriſonment, he hid himſelf in the houſe of a faithful friend, lying in a barrel covered over with ſtraw, where was brought him privately his diet. Whilſt he thus lay concealed in the veſſel, a certain perſon went up into the garret, his priſon, with his hoſt's ſiſter; when theſe two perſons thinking themſelves alone, came to ſuch familiarities as much ſcandalized this new Diogenes, who ſaw all that paſſed through the crevices of his tub; and being not able to contain his reſentments, he thus paſſionately brake out, "God ſees you, you wretches, and man too." In a word, his indignation was ſo great, that the tub or barrel was overthrown; with the noiſe of which,

and his ſcrambling up, the two lovers were ſo affrighted, that the gallant for haſte broke his neck down ſtairs, and the nymph lay dead in a ſwoon on the place. This ſtrange ſurpriſe to all, eſpecially the ſight of ſo filthy and tragical a ſpectacle, ſo affected this young man, as made him retire from the world into the ſolitude where he now remains. He lives only on bread and water; and the averſion which he has conceived on this occaſion to women is ſo great, that there is none dares appear before him. There were two who had the curioſity of ſeeing this hermit, in men's clothes, but they ſoon repented of their viſit; for this ſolitary, full of rage and indignation, thus welcomed them, "Get you gone, you demons, fallen from heaven for man's deſtruction; I know very well what you are, and cannot behold you without horror." He makes excellent exhortations to young men who viſit him; and having ſhowed them the care they ought to take to live with purity, and rule their paſſions, to which corrupt nature renders them ſubject, he alſo exhorts them to hold a glaſs before their faces, when ſeized with anger, or when carried forth to the commiſſion of any brutiſh or unſeemly action.

My letter is longer than I intended; receive, as a mark of my friendſhip, the long time I have entertained myſelf with thee, when I thought at firſt to ſpeak all in two words. Give this letter, directed to thee, into Zelim's own hands; it contains things which concern his life. As to what remains, love ever thy faithful Mahmut, whilſt I ſhall pray the ſovereign of the greateſt monarchs, as well as other men, that he would, after this life, give us eternal felicity, and the grace to appear innocent before his dreadful tribunal, at which all men ſhall be judged.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

V.—*To* ZELIM *of Rhodes, Captain of a Galley.*

MEHEMET, page of the ſeraglio, will deliver, or cauſe to be delivered to thee, this letter, which is written to thee by Mahmut, ſlave and faithful miniſter of the great Sultan, the invincible and happy Amurath, who commands me to ſerve him in theſe parts. There is no neceſſity of my ſending thee the picture of a man who ſets forth from Leghorn for Conſtantinople with a deſign to kill thee. Thou mayeſt eaſily know him, ſeeing he has been ſix years a ſlave in thy galley. Adonai the Jew ſent me this advice from Genoa, ſo important for thy life; adding, he ſet out with his brother, being reſolved to periſh, or be revenged of a great injury thou haſt done him.

He has filled Italy with diſcourſes of thy cruelties. He affirms, that having tried all ways to make him a Turk, ſeeing neither preſents nor promiſes could perſuade him, thou haſt made him ſuffer the moſt cruel torments a man can undergo; and that being laid faſt aſleep, by a potion which thou cauſedſt him to take, thou haſt made him be caſtrated. The weapons he bears to rid himſelf of thee will ſtrike thee without noiſe, ſo that thou needeſt be much on thy guard. He hides that which is to do thy buſineſs in a little prayer-book. Revenge, which does uſually make men induſtrious, has put him upon concealing in this manual, a little poiſoned ſteel dart, which is encloſed with ſuch great art in the leather that covers it, that it is ſhot thence as from a bow, and ſtrikes with ſuch violence and ſwiftneſs, that the ſtroke cannot be avoided, nor ſcarcely felt by him that receives it, it cauſing not one drop of blood to follow, nor wound to be ſeen; ſo delicately tempered is the mortal weapon, that the man does unavoidably die whom it hits.

I do not doubt but this revengeful ſpirit will cunningly conceal himſelf, ſo that it will be hard to diſcover him. But having had this advice, it belongs to thee to take care of thyſelf; and in the mean time, correct this cruel and ſevere temper of thine. Thou commandeſt a galley manned with ſlaves, who live at thy charge; thou reckoneſt amongſt thy riches three hundred Chriſtians, who dreſs thy gardens, and ſerve thee at ſea; and thou haſt never remembered, they are men which may ſave or take away thy life; and that ranging the ſeas as thou doſt, it is poſſible thou mayeſt meet with the ſame fortune, and be made a ſlave thyſelf. Thou haſt never conſidered, that death is more ſupportable than ſlavery; and that thoſe that deſpiſe their own lives, are maſters of thine. God preſerve thee, and incline thine heart to uſe gently thy ſlaves, who are ſo uſeful to thee. Follow my advice; thou haſt three hundred enemies in thy houſe, do what in thee lies to gain their love. Learn this of a famous Roman, who made his ſlaves, born in his houſe, to be nurſed with the ſame milk his children were. If thou art not for ſuch an indulgence, at leaſt ceaſe to be cruel, otherwiſe thou wilt be more a ſlave than thoſe that ſerve thee. If thou wilt not ſpare theſe people in love to them, pity their condition, and ſpare them in love to thyſelf; whereby thou wilt live in ſo great tranquillity as cannot be imagined. The holy Prophet guard thee from the danger threatened thee, and deſtroy this raſh Chriſtian who would aſſaſſinate thee.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

VI.—*To the Invincible* VIZIER AZEM, *at the Camp before Babylon.*

THERE are various diſcourſes here of the Grand Seignior's warlike preparations; and it is common for people to confound here, the ancient Babylon with Suſa and Bagdad; but this is no great matter. It is certain all the infidels wiſhes are in thy favour; for they deſire to ſee thee conqueror, not only of Babylon, but all the eaſt; that Amurath may be the longer in his return to Greece, and chooſe a place far diſtant from the ſeat of his empire. It is diſcourſed in this court, as if the invincible ſultan carries along with him to this war, four hundred thouſand foot, an hundred and fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred baſſa's; and moreover, twelve princes tributary to the Porte. It is alſo ſaid Bagdad is a place not to be won by force; that a river, the ſwifteſt in the world, runs through the midſt of it; and that the place has an hundred gates of braſs, and its walls, which are very high, be defended by three hundred pieces of cannon; that the Perſian forces are great enough to tire out the Ottoman army, and that the example of Cha Abbas, father to the Sophy who now reigns over the Perſians, will increaſe their valour and obſtinacy, to ſuffer the greateſt extremities, rather than to think of a ſurrender. The raſh reſolution of this King Abbas, in the laſt ſiege of this great city, is ſo cried up and magnified here, that ſcarce is there any room left for the praiſes of Amurath. This prince's paſſing and repaſſing more than once in a bark, in the ſight of two hundred thouſand Turks, to advertiſe, in perſon, the beſieged of the condition of affairs, and to give them a freſh courage, aſſuring them, they ſhould be ſoon ſuccoured, and having at the ſame time about him wherewith to hinder him from

falling alive or dead into the hands of his enemies, was an action which they think is above all eulogiums, and appears to them greater than ſtory could ever parallel. It is ſaid, that this king carried in his bark two great ſtones faſtened to one and the ſame cord, to put them on his neck to ſink himſelf into the river, which was of an unfathomable depth, in caſe he was diſcovered. To which they add, that Amurath, who can never have his fill of blood, will recompenſe thy ſervices in the ſame manner he did thy predeceſſor's.

Theſe infidels hold, moreover, other diſcourſes which are very impertinent, confounding ſuch things as are true with falſe; as they do the juſtice and liberality of the generous and ever invincible ſultan, with the cruelty and avarice wherewith they reproach him. It is ſaid likewiſe, that the ſequins which he diſtributed the day whereon he was proclaimed emperor, were not by one half of the value which was ſet upon them: That he cauſed Mehemet, Baſſa of Cairo, to be ſtrangled, for no other reaſon, but to become maſter of his wealth. It is further added, that this prince having had advice that a galley was taken, having ſeventy-five conſiderable officers belonging to the Porte on board, whilſt he was diverting himſelf in a pleaſure-houſe, at the entrance into Aſia, he ſaid, by way of jeſt, "Let's drink the health of theſe ſtout blades." It is, moreover, ſaid, that having given his word, and promiſed a ſecure paſſage to the brave Facardine, an Arabian prince, he cauſed him to be ſtabbed in a thouſand places in his ſight. But what do not they ſay of his deſtroying the mufti, and Cyril the Greek patriarch? In fine, they ſet forth Amurath as a ſacrilegious wretch, that deſpiſes his own religion, an heretic, and enemy to our holy Prophet. They relate the particulars of Cyril's death, which makes me doubt there be

traitors at the Porte, who advertiſe the infidels of the moſt ſecret matters which paſs there. Some ſay his eloquence rendered him ſuſpected to Amurath; and that he ſaid theſe words, when he was led to the Caſtle of Seven Towers, "Could I ſpeak but once to our great emperor, he would be forced to love me, or repent." And it is ſaid, that having voyaged into England, he had learned magic there. Many people believed, he would introduce novelties in religion; and, for this end, held ſtrict correſpondences with the Latinized monks; and it is known here, that, when his ſentence was pronounced, he ſaid, "He would riſe again to torment the emperor, and perplex his affairs." The French having blamed what I now mentioned, do extremely praiſe the moderation of Amurath, when he took the Perſian ſpy, who ſlid into his camp in Turkiſh habit, and crowded amongſt the true faithful; for he careſſed him, and ſent him back with rich preſents. They alſo admire the patience of this prince, in only condemning to the galleys the thirty Indian pilgrims, who occaſioned his fall from his horſe in the capital city of his kingdom; for the horſe was affrighted at the apparel of theſe men, and the ſtrange figure they made, when they threw themſelves on the ground to beg money of him; but they at the ſame time charge this emperor with brutiſhneſs, for killing with his own hand immediately the horſe that threw him down.

The diſcourſes of this nature, however injurious they are, be not of great importance. But, if I be not miſtaken, there is ſomething carrying on againſt us with the republic of Venice. I obſerve its ambaſſador, ſince the loſs we have had of fifteen galleys at Valentia, has frequent and ſecret conferences with the King and Cardinal de Richlieu. As it is not doubted but that the Ottoman empire will be revenged for ſo deep an injury, ſo it is alſo

judged that the Venetians will uſe their utmoſt endeavours to unite into a confederacy the Chriſtian princes; and it is to be feared, leſt they take the time when the emperor is employed in the ſiege of Babylon to form ſome enterpriſe, or put themſelves into a condition wherein they cannot be attacked. I ſhall carefully obſerve all the motions of the Venetian ambaſſador; and, if need requires, diſpatch an expreſs meſſenger to the Kaimacham. I adore thy grandeur, buried in the duſt of thy feet.

Paris, 10th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

VII.—*To the ſame.*

THE courier not parting till the morrow, I make uſe of this ſhort time to write again to thee. Briſac, as I have already given advice, was taken by the forces of France and Swedeland; and the Duke of Weymar, who commands the army, brags, that being become maſter of this place, which has always been beſieged in vain, he ſhall take ſeveral others, there being none which henceforward can reſiſt him.

The Mareſchal de Bannier, one of the generals of the Swediſh armies, wearied out the Imperialiſts in Pomerania with continual alarms. He took Gratz, a conſiderable place, and has beaten Galas, one of the Emperor of Germany's generals: but Fortune having changed her countenance, has favoured the emperor againſt the troops of the Palatine, who is taken priſoner, with Prince Rupert his brother, having been like to be drowned in the river of Wezer, whereinto he was drawn in his coach by his horſes, who took fright at the noiſe of the cannon: and theſe unfortunate princes have loſt on this occaſion,

with their liberty, whatever was moſt precious to them. The Swedes have, in the mean time, increaſed their ſtrength by the conjunction of new troops: They make frequent incurſions on the Imperialiſts; and it is thought this war will laſt a conſiderable time, by the great preparations which are made on all hands, and eſpecially by the French, to whom it ſeems important that it ſhould not end ſpeedily.

There is news from Italy, that a diſcovery has been made in Piedmont of new cabals of the princes of the Houſe of Savoy, who deſigned to put by the dutcheſs from her regency, and make themſelves maſters of the government during the minority of the young duke. There is a cardinal of this name, an ambitious man, a great lover of war, and given to liberality. He would fain have the chief ſhare in the government, and be maſter of his nephew's fortune. This cardinal lay concealed in the ſtate of Genoa, being clothed in an habit little becoming his character, and whence he ſent his orders for the execution of whatever he had concerted with his partizans; but the conſpiracy got wind, and proved a bloody tragedy to his accomplices. It is ſaid, that this prince having twice diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, had entered with a bag of fruit on his back into one of the moſt conſiderable towns in Piedmont, to give by his preſence more heat to his party; and that, with a greater boldneſs, he had entered into Turin in the habit of a capuchin, with a long thick beard, and abode there two days; not with deſign of ridding himſelf of the prince, or his mother, but to become maſter both of the one and the other, to govern the ſtate alone. But the conſpiracy having been diſcovered, and the accomplices ſeized, fourſcore of them were put to death by the common hangman; and he eſcaped by a new ſtratagem. A ſecretary

of ſtate of Savoy is to be reckoned amongſt this number. Another cardinal, who commands the army of France, ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Duke and Dutcheſs, had alſo put to death the governor of Cazal, accuſed of treaſon, though he was not fully convicted of it.

It is written from Rome, that two ambaſſadors from the King of Hungary, who is lately elected Emperor of Germany, had made a magnificent entrance into that great city, clad after the Hungarian manner with veſts, called here *a la barbareſque*; that they had above an hundred horſe, whoſe harneſs were of gold and their ſhoes of ſilver; and it was eſpecially obſerved, that all the foreign miniſters in that court had ſent their retinue to accompany them in their entrance, that it might appear more magnificent; and that theſe two ambaſſadors of the new emperor being arrived in the preſence of the Infidels Mufti, whom they call the Pope, they told him their prince would continue to render him the obedience which his Father Ferdinand, now deceaſed, paid him; and that he recommended to his holineſs his perſon, his houſe, and his ſtate, as a new emperor, elected by the ſuffrages of the Princes Electors of the Empire.

Obſerve, magnanimous viſier! the authority of this mufti. Thoſe who are ſo audacious as to reſiſt the muſſulmans, will yet abaſe themſelves at his feet, which they really kiſs before they open their mouths to ſpeak to him. The greateſt Chriſtian princes are wont to chooſe from amongſt the moſt conſiderable perſons of their ſtate, the ambaſſadors which they ſend with great expence to pay their homage to this ſupreme head of their church. Moreover, theſe ambaſſadors of the new Cæſar have aſſured the pope, as from him, that he will never ceaſe to make war with the enemies of the Chriſtian faith; and it is ſaid they received this anſwer:

"That he ever reſpected the King of Hungary, the late elected emperor, as his ſon, to whom he would never be wanting in counſel, and all other neceſſary aſſiſtances; and exhorted him to employ his victorious arms againſt the enemies of the croſs; and that, on his ſide, he would employ the ſuccours of his prayers, that the church ſhould open her treaſures, by granting indulgences; and that he would, beſide this, give ſupplies of men and money."

People, who are idle, amuſe themſelves with diſcourſes on future events; and thoſe that conſult the ſtars to penetrate into what is to come, have made a marriage between the dauphin of France, a prince born ſome months ſince, and the Infanta of Spain, lately come into the world. It is true, that at the moment this princeſs ſaw the light, the King of Spain, and the grandees of the kingdom, tried who ſhould outdo one another in feaſtings, to ſolemnize this birth: And the like was done in France for that of the dauphin, both being accompanied with extraordinary magnificence, and prodigious liberalities.

The Catholic King has given the quality of grandee to the Duke of Modena, who was godfather to the Infanta, and has declared him generaliſſimo of the four ſeas, with a penſion of twenty thouſand ſequins of gold. He has, moreover, made magnificent preſents to the dutcheſs his wife, eſteemed at an hundred thouſand crowns; and, beſides, made knights of the Order of St. James, ſeveral gentlemen of this prince's court.

The Elector of Brandenburgh has alſo given ſeveral ſplendid entertainments in his houſe and ſtate, for the marriage conſummated with the Duke of Saxony's ſon; and, whilſt I am writing, I am told there is a ſon born to the King of Hungary, now Emperor of Germany.

But whilſt theſe rejoicings are in ſeveral parts of Europe, an unforeſeen tempeſt has ruined whole countries in Germany. The damage done thereby in Franconia, and near Frankfort, is incredible; and it lacked but little, but this ſame King of Hungary, now mentioned, being at the hunting of a boar, had been ſlain through a whirlwind, which having pulled up a great oak by the roots, of prodigious greatneſs, it fell ſo near this prince, that he received ſome ſlight hurt by a branch of it.

I pray Heavens, that all the wiſdom of our holy Prophet, and the bleſſing of the Great God, be always upon thee, and in thee, and ever augment thy ſtrength and good fortune, to the ruin of theſe Perſian heretics, whoſe country I hope will be ſubjected by thy ſword to our dread emperor.

Paris, 10th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

VIII.—*To* Benredin, *Superior of the Derviſes in the Convent of Cogny, in Natolia.*

THOU art happy in living long and holily too. I cannot chooſe but reflect with regret on thy great age, conſidering how infirm I am. After fifteen days illneſs, my ſtrength quite failed me, ſo that neceſſitated I was to look out for a phyſician; for I cannot eaſily commit myſelf to the hands of thoſe of this country, who kill ſuch as truſt them, in the ſame manner as if they were their enemies. When I diſcourſe theſe doctors about the ſtate of my health, they tell me I am in imminent danger, and that my cure is hazardous. In writing thus, think not I rave, for I ſpeak the pure truth. They will certainly kill me ſhould I diſcover to them under what climate I

was born, whereas if I tell them I am of Moldavia they may chance to do me good; though that country air is very different from that of Arabia, where I first drew my breath. To how many miseries is the life of man subject, especially mine, when I cannot speak the truth, though it be to save my life? Pray for me, holy dervise; and if you hear no more from me, believe Mahmut is dead. Pardon likewise the offences I have given thee, which yet have been against my will. Adieu! We shall see one another in God, with God, and in the bosom of God.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1639.

IX.—*To* OUCOUMICHE, *his Mother, at Scios.*

PARDON me, my dear mother, if I write last to thee: Pardon me, moreover, if I have not written to thee, to pay thee the marks of my duty whilst I was in my health; and let me seek after thee, when, perhaps, in seeking for me, thou wilt no longer find me, I am ready to die. Afflict not thyself if God calls me to him; though I am amongst infidels, yet death holds his empire here as in other places. The worst news I can tell thee is, that commonly those who desire to live longest are soonest taken away; and I am not ashamed to tell thee, I am one of that number. I cannot willingly, as yet, leave this lower world. O unhappy life! O unwelcome death! What apprehensions have I not! And with what terrors am I not struck, since I have lived among the Christians! They preach against our Alcoran, and we declaim against their Gospel: They affirm, that Mahomet was a great impostor; and we worship him. They believe they only

know the truth; and that they be the only ſaints, the elect and choſen of God. What then will become of us, if we be wedded to errors, and our Alcoran be onl a parcel of lies?

I have neither good nor bad news of thee, no mo than of thy new ſpouſe. God grant the merry Gree thou art married to have the vices of thy firſt huſband, my father. Thou knoweſt my meaning. He called himſelf vicious, becauſe he hated the virtues of the vulgar.

I thank thee not for my life; for that is what thou leaſt thoughteſt of when thou becameſt big with me. But if thou expecteſt ſome recompenſe for ſuckling me at thy own breaſts, expect only words of thanks from a poor ſlave, who poſſeſſes nothing. Love and hate all the time of thy life; this is the greateſt inheritance thou canſt expect from a ſon who is juſt a-dying. Engrave theſe words in thy heart, "Love ever what is honeſt, and hate always what is contrary to it." Thus will theſe different paſſions be ſettled on their proper object.

If my brother Peſteli be ſtill alive, give him my love with an innocent kiſs, and a touch in the hand. Our great Prophet protect and ſuſtain thy age with the ſtaff of Mount Liban, and obtain for thee from the mercy of the Moſt High, that thou mayeſt enjoy thy ſenſes to the laſt hour of thy life. Adieu.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon, of the year 1639.

X.—*To* Peſteli Hali, *his Brother.*

Believing my life is near its end, I therefore, with all imaginable eagerneſs, write to thee, in the third place, although indeed thou holdeſt the firſt in my heart. We

ſhall ſee one another, dear Peſteli, in that world where every one receives according to his deſerts. When I arrived in this great town, I was aſtoniſhed at the confuſion I met there, but I received no other hurt. Although the weather be very inconſtant, yet the air is good, and proviſions wholeſome and agreeable to the taſte; the water of the Seine is ſweet and clear; the men are good company, and the women have done me no harm; the king has not ill uſed me. Cardinal Richlieu, his chief miniſter, does not hinder me from living after my own faſhion. Our great emperor is not diſpleaſed with me, yet my diſtemper is impetuous; a ſad faintneſs has ſeized my heart, and I begin to fall into ſuch a languiſhing condition as makes me deſpair of health. If thou ſtill conſerveſt any affection for me, read this letter with compaſſion. Forget the ill offices I may have done thee; and if I parted without diſcovering to thee the occaſion, give God thanks for the ability he has given me of ſacrificing the tenderneſs which I have for ſo good a brother to the obedience which I owe to the emperor's commands.

Our mother will ſalute thee as from me, in giving thee a kiſs; receive it as coming from me. Keep thy gravity, and be honeſt in Aſia as well as Europe; and, if thou goeſt to Africa, ſuffer not thyſelf to be corrupted by ill examples. It is not without tears I write thee this letter. But lament not if I die, neither rejoice if I eſcape; for I ſhall be thereby no leſs mortal; and that tribute which I do not pay to-day, we both ſhall pay, with all other men, on a certain time. Prepare to part willingly; ſtudy more how thou ſhalt die than how thou ſhalt live; and if thou wouldſt live till thou art old, live as if thou wert to die when thou art young.

The Great God preſerve thee in the perfect uſe of thy

underſtanding, and guide thee into all truth; and if thou deſireſt to be the beſt captain and commander in the world, learn to conquer thyſelf. Adieu.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1639.

XI.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

Should I tell thee I am in health, I ſhall write an untruth; for I am really out of order, and expect a fit of ſickneſs, which I wiſh it were in my power to avoid, though it may prove ſhort and mortal. An hectic fever puts me oft in mind, how frail and brittle a thing is man; and that he ought in multiplicity of buſineſs, in times of proſperity as well as adverſity, to think of diſlodging hence. The bread I eat has no reliſh; ſolitude appears diſmal to me, and company wearies me; for I cannot attend to what's diſcourſed, and yet I do not like they ſhould ſay nothing; there's nothing pleaſes me but drink, yet all the ſea will not quench my thirſt. I am reſtleſs in bed, and find myſelf more tired thereby than if I ſat up; and that which I loved yeſterday I hate to-day. Thou knoweſt how I loved books; this humour is quite changed. If the ſun ſhines into my chamber, I as ſoon ſhut my windows, being not able to endure it; and having remained a minute in obſcurity, I am impatient for the light. Paris, where one may ſay ſtrangers come from all parts, to ſee the varieties and diverſions there to be met with, appears to me now an hoſpital of fools: I long for nothing more than Conſtantinople, and to be with my friends, imagining I ſhall find eaſe in their company. And this is the unhappy condition of thy friend, without hope of ſeeing any more turbans and muſſulmans. I loath as much the ſight of an ignorant phyſician, as

the Emperor Severus did a corrupt judge; and I look on a little valet that ſerves me as a neceſſary evil. Yet I would a little divert thee, maugre the illneſs which has ſeized me. It is not above ſix months ſince I entertained this enemy in my houſe, which is a French valet, who makes himſelf a fool, of a pigmy's ſtature, yet a giant in roguery; he is clad like the Graces, being half naked, and wears buſkins like the poetical divinities; his ordinary function is to ſweep every day my chamber, which yet is as naſty as Augeas's ſtable: When I am awake he is aſleep, and he is always awake when I am aſleep. For this thirteen years that he has ſeen the light, he cannot remember he has been two hours without eating; when he eats not openly and before folks, leſt he ſhould ſhame me, he will yet be ſure to keep his chaps a-going on ſomething in corners. When I went abroad I was forced to follow him; and now that I keep my bed, it is hard to judge which of us two is the maſter, for he never parts with his hat from his head. He is more ready to pull off my clothes than to put them on; which makes me chiefly careful of him at ſuch times that he leaves me not ſtark naked. He is, moreover, a politician as much as any Florentine; when he is to do any good office he falls into the Spaniſh pace, but to perfect a bad one, he is as nimble as Cæſar was in the quickeſt of his expeditions; whence it is that I am a debtor to my own arm and hand for the ſervice I draw from him, being like certain drugs which never yield an odour till well beaten. As to his religion, a man would imagine he held the metempſychoſis, ſo carefully does he preſerve the lice that eat him, leſt in killing them he act contrary to the precepts of Pythagoras. He is moreover, beſides, an irreconcileable enemy to all neatneſs, to water and to truth; and he is more ſtinking than a ſynagogue, drunker than a Swiſs,

and a greater liar than an oracle. In the mean time my illneſs increaſes, and my domeſtic enemy is ſo well, that he aſſuredly waits my death to live more honourably on my ſpoils. I differ much this day from what I was yeſterday, and I know not whether I ſhall not to-morrow go to my long home. Pray the Immortal for me, and remember we were once in ſlavery together. Should I eſcape, I ſhall have the joy of never ſeeing thee in the ſad condition I am; and if I cannot eſcape death at this time, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of ſuffering it before thee. However, believe I do not deſpair, though I much complain. I ceaſe writing to thee, but I will never ceaſe loving thee. Mahmut embraces thee in this country of infidels, having thee always in his heart, and praying for thee continually.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

XII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE King of France has a dwarf called Oſmin, born in a village of the Morea, and carried away in his infancy into Italy by pirates. He was bought by a Spaniſh lord, who afterwards made a preſent of him to this king, with ſuch a *bonne grace*, as entitles magnificence to the ſmalleſt things, after the manner of that nation. The Spaniard having preſented his dwarf, ſaid no more, the dwarf making this following diſcourſe.

"Sir, I am a Chriſtian, although my parents be Turks. If thou willingly receiveſt me for thy ſlave, I receive thee yet more willingly for my maſter, being a juſt and merciful prince: But I am obliged to tell thee, if thou wilt behave thyſelf like a maſter, whoſe liberality is guided by prudence, thou wilt never do me any hurt, nor ever do

me any great good. Shouldſt thou give me opportunities of acquiring riches, and throw open the gate of honours to me, I ſhall thereby, perhaps, grow vicious and inſolent. Beſtow only one thing on me, which will not be afterwards in thy power to take away; give me good education, and let a man of learning take the charge of me; by which means I ſhall be revenged of nature, in making me but an atom of a man; and perhaps make thy courtiers one day repent of their preſent laughter at me."

Oſmin has behaved himſelf ſo well, and gained ſuch credit by the ſubtilty of his wit, and readineſs of his anſwers, that he is at preſent one of the court's choiceſt entertainments, and the ſcourge of debauched people. Coming one day to divert and comfort me in my illneſs, he told me, that being in private diſcourſe with one of the women belonging to a lady of the firſt rank, he was forced to conceal himſelf ſpeedily behind the hangings, to prevent being ſurpriſed in the chamber, where this lady unexpectedly entered with the Venetian ambaſſador, who ordinarily reſides in this court, and where he heard the following diſcourſe from this miniſter's own mouth.

"Madam, I ſhall willingly diſcover to you, now that we are alone, the intentions of the republic I ſerve, touching the Turkiſh affairs, provided you promiſe me to do me two different good turns. It is abſolutely neceſſary we make war with theſe barbarians, before they declare it againſt us. The Ottoman family is like the mathematical compaſs, which enlarges itſelf the more it is preſſed. You are not to be informed of the famous victory gained by our General Capello, who has led in triumph all the galleys of Afric; but though Amurath be employed on the frontiers of Perſia, in the ſiege of a moſt important place, yet does he already threaten to be revenged for the defeat of theſe barbarians. The miniſters of the

Porte do alſo preſs him to ſhow his reſentment; and we certainly know, by ſecret relations from the Turkiſh camp, lying before Babylon, that the Grand Signior has ſaid in full council, that he will himſelf throw the firſt fire-ball into our arſenal. That, Madam, which lies in your power is, to perſuade the king to engage in the common cauſe; and for this end make up a peace with his enemies, that he may join his naval forces with ours. On the other hand, we could wiſh you would offer the contrary to Cardinal Richlieu; becauſe this miniſter uſually ſlighting women's counſels, will come to our purpoſe through his obſtinate humour of contradicting you: And I do not doubt but this artifice will ſucceed, if thou perſuade him the king is reſolved not to give us any aſſiſtance. There runs a report as if our bailo has been laid hold on at Conſtantinople, and retained priſoner in the Caſtle of Seven Towers, by the order of the Kaimacham. And it is added, that the Grand Signior offers a peace to the Perſians, to return ſpeedily into Europe, that having no diverſion on that ſide, he may turn all his forces againſt the republic.

"The pope promiſes much, and we need not fear but he will keep his word, being the perſon moſt intereſted in our affairs. He will furniſh money, join his galleys to thoſe of the republic, and moreover ſend us ſeveral ſtout men. The King of Spain promiſes us forty galleys, with all neceſſaries, together with fifty veſſels of war. The Great Duke of Tuſcany will aſſiſt us with eight veſſels well ſet out, and ſix galleys well armed. The King of Poland promiſes to ſend into the infidels country an army of fifty thouſand Coſſacks; and others ſhall cruiſe about the Levantine ſeas with their brigantines, and eſpecially the Archipelago. As to what reſpects the republic, the chief families in Venice have already proffered to

ſet out, and entertain at their own charge, a veſſel till the war be ended; and all the great caſtles and towns on the firm land, freely offer to furniſh the republic with fifty thouſand ducats a-month. This kingdom, which is ſo full of men, amongſt which there are ſo many good officers, which are rich in money, and at preſent ſo conſiderable at ſea, muſt not only not trouble ſo noble and neceſſary a project, in continuing a war with Spain, but alſo gives its aſſiſtance, by ſupplies of men, money, and veſſels. If you can, Madam, oblige the king to enter into this league, you will merit an everlaſting remembrance, and have an hundred thouſand crowns, which lie ready for you at Venice, to be paid when and where you pleaſe.

"This is God's cauſe, the occaſion is favourable, and all things ſeem in a readineſs. You may immortalize your name, and with your beauty, your credit, and eloquence, give good grounds of hope to Chriſtendom of ſucceſs, by obtaining the aſſiſtance of the moſt puiſſant of the Chriſtian monarchs."

This is what the dwarf heard, and what he entruſted me with ſince. Were I in a condition, illuſtrious Kaimacham, to relate particularly the life of Oſmin, I am perſuaded thou wouldeſt give entire credit to the diſcourſe he made me.

Oſmin is born a Turk, he loves me dearly, and has a certain ſympathy with me; which obliges him to ſeek me often, and entruſt me with all the adventures of his life, treating me not only as a friend, but living with me as if I were his brother.

There being ſome days ſince I languiſhed in bed, tormented with a diſtemper, which at its beginning threatened me with vexatious conſequences, and which cauſes me to droop and languiſh, thou wilt pardon me if I rea-

ſon not much on an adventure ſo extraordinary. Should God reſtore me to my health, I ſhall double my care and diligence in obſerving the meaſures of this court. Order by thy prudence and valour, that the preparations of theſe infidels againſt the formidable monarchy of the true believers may vaniſh into ſmoke: And the Great Sovereign of the lower and upper world grant thee perfect health, which is ſought in vain by his Highneſs's ſlave, and thy ſervant Mahmut.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

XIII.—*To* Isouf, *his Kinſman.*

NOTWITHSTANDING my weakneſs, I force myſelf to write thee this letter, to thee with whom I am engaged by intereſt as well as by blood. My diſtemper lies ſo heavy upon me, that there remains only the time to ſpeak two words of devotion to thee. Iſouf, thou oughteſt towards the end of the moon in May to go to Mecca; carry me along with thee, though I am at this diſtance. I entreat thee, when thou ſhalt arrive with the caravan of pilgrims at the mount of Ararat, to offer there a ſacrifice in my name; immolate a ſheep in commemoration of Abraham; and if thou arriveſt in health at the holy Moſque, and in full ſtrength, offer devoutly my prayers to our great Prophet. I aſk not honours of Mahomet no more than riches: I only beg that Heaven would reſtore me what I have loſt; it is health I deſire, whereby I may ſerve our great emperor, and live more holy than I have done. But before thy departure, diſtribute a good dole to the poor; and if thou wanteſt money, go and find Dgnet Ogiou, borrow of him in my name ſeven hundred and fifty aſpers, which thou ſhalt immediately deal out to thoſe that have moſt need.

Thou knoweſt how greatly the works of charity are recommended to us: They multiply the benedictions of Heaven, and increaſe our wealth. I neither do nor can ſo this in the infidels country; thou knoweſt my inability, ſpeedily ſuccour me in the neceſſity I am of doing good, and let nothing hinder thee, no argument of good huſbandry nor ſuperſtition. If thou neglect my prayer, the ſhame of the fault will lie at thy door; and thou alone ſhalt bear the iniquity, if thou executeſt not the will of a dying man, eſpecially having the power. I forgot what I had of greateſt importance to tell thee, and which is the moſt holy, and aimed at to obtain with the greateſt earneſtneſs; endeavour to get for me a little piece of the cloth wherewith the temple of Mecca is every year hung, and which the pilgrims tear in pieces to have each of them a part; and ſend as ſoon as thou canſt this holy relic in a little ſilver box to Carcoa at Vienna, who will take care I receive it. If thou beeſt a good muſſulman, give ſpeedy help to a diſciple of the ſame law; and if thou beeſt a real Kinſman, aſſiſt me, love me, and take on thee my defence when neceſſary. I embrace thee with all my heart and ſtrength; and though I believe myſelf very near death, yet I wiſh thee a long and happy life.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

XIV.—*To the Invincible* VIZIER AZEM, *at Conſtantinople.*

IF thou beeſt the ſame that commanded the army of the true believers before Babylon, I write to thee without congratulating thy reſurrection. The people at Paris have killed thee by their diſcourſes, becauſe they wiſhed thy death, and it is generally ſaid thou waſt ſtrangled by

four mutes. But if I write to another, raiſed to the chief dignity of the empire, I pray the great God, who will one day judge all men, that he will long continue thee in Amurath's ſervice, ever happy, and always attended with victory; and give thee better fortune than all the other viſiers who have governed in the vaſt empire of the muſſulmans.

I have been ſick during the ſpace of eighteen moons, and my health is not yet fully reſtored: I have lived all that time in continual expectation of death, and ſo many odd things have happened in my ſickneſs, that I ſhould fall into it again ſhouldſt thou oblige me to make the recital of them.

The charity of the Chriſtian derviſes has been very great towards me, having neglected nothing which might be anywiſe ſerviceable to my happy departure. The graveſt of them have often attended me with diſcourſes of the immortality of the ſoul, of hell, their purgatory, paradiſe, and the merits and indulgences of the church. Several phyſicians have come to ſee me, and uſed their utmoſt ſkill to keep me alive, and imagine I owe my life to them; but if it be ſo, they have paid themſelves for their care, by drawing ſo much blood out of me, having, I think, quite emptied my veins, to reſiſt, ſaid they, the ſeveral diſtempers which aſſaulted me, and to take from me the Turkiſh fever which I nouriſhed; for I aſſuredly brought it from Conſtantinople.

The greateſt ſin I committed during the courſe of ſo long a ſickneſs, was the pretending to confeſs myſelf to a captain derviſe, as the Chriſtians do in the principal feaſts, and when they are ready to die. I uſed this ceremony but once, and I do not think I have committed ſacrilege, for I have told no truth; and if I may ſpeak freely to thee, invincible Viſier, hear what a pleaſant pe-

nance was enjoined me for an imaginary crime of which I accuſed myſelf. I confeſſed I hindered, by an apology I had made, a Mahometan from embracing the law of Jeſus; and the derviſe ſaid to me in a paſſion, "You are not then a catholic?" "I am (anſwered I); and only diſſuaded this barbarian on account I had obſerved it ſeldom happened, that a Turk who changed his law came to a good end; and that thoſe who ceaſed to be muſſulmans, ſeldom prove any other but bad Chriſtians." "Your reaſoning is alſo as falſe (replied ſharply the monk) as the deſign you have had is bad; for you never ought to hinder any thing which is good, for the fear you may have that in the end it may ceaſe to be ſo; and I enjoin you for penance, to ſcrape out with ſuch exactneſs all the characters of your apology, that there remain no mark of it, ſo that the paper become as clean and fair as if there had been nothing written on it, that ſo black and deteſtable a diſcourſe be entirely defaced, by the pains you ſhall take to hinder the remaining of any trace or mark: After which, you ſhall pray to God as long as you live, that he would deſtroy the temple at Mecca, ſo famous by the impieties committed there, and enlighten the eyes of the blind Mahometans." But I am conſtrained to ſtop here, being ſo feeble and indiſpoſed, that I have not the ſtrength to write that I am now recovering.

The Mars which has made Germany tremble, I mean the Duke of Weymar, is, in fine, dead, at thirty-ſix years of age, and buried in the ſame field wherein he gathered his laſt laurels, that is to ſay, at Briſac. I ſhall diſtinctly inform the Kaimacham of whatever has happened during my ſickneſs, that I may not give thee the trouble to read the relation of ſeveral adventures which have been already publiſhed in the world, whilſt thou art employed in the great affairs of the empire. As ſoon as I am able

I ſhall, if poſſible, do with greater diligence the offices of my place, and henceforward punctually advertiſe thee of the cabals, intrigues, and deſigns of the Nazarenes, that thou mayeſt not be unprovided againſt all the attempts of the infidels.

I entreat the Being of beings to accompany thy life with all the happineſs thou canſt deſire on earth, and that thou mayeſt never undertake any thing for the good of the empire and its religion without ſucceſs.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1640.

XV.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THOU wert but little miſtaken when thou thoughteſt I was dead. I have been ſo near the grave, that I may have received four of thy letters without being able to read them; ſo far was I from the power of anſwering them. I have been ſick a whole year and ſix months, out of the commerce of the living, and without receiving any conſolation from any one, abandoned to phyſic, and become the prey of the phyſicians, and in ſhort, out of hope of ever recovering; but the day wherein I am to be judged is not yet come: I am, in fine, ſtill alive, and ſhall ſoon, I hope, be well again, if thou, to overwhelm me, chargeſt not my long malady as a crime upon me, and ſuſpecteſt me not guilty of infidelity.

I have informed myſelf, within theſe few days, of ſeveral events which have happened during the courſe of ſeveral moons, which I ſhall relate to thee if I can in this letter, to make amends for the time I have loſt, but in ſo few words as will occaſion thee to think I am ſtill ſick; for which thou muſt not blame me, ſeeing then loveſt brevity.

France, during the time I have not writ to thee, has given me marks of its power and policy. Four places have been beſieged in the year 1639, whoſe ſucceſs have not been equal. The French have met with diſadvantage before Thionville, by the valour and conduct of Piccolomini, one of the emperor's generals, who was born in Italy, and brought up from a child in the trade of arms. It is ſaid he has attacked and vanquiſhed his maſter's enemies with ſuch ſpeed, that one may compare his action with that of Claudius Nero, when he defeated Aſdrubal, who had entered Italy; he has broken the enemy's army, routed the horſe, took the cannon, killed the French general, and immediately raiſed the ſiege. But in revenge, the ſame French who were beaten before Thionville, have made themſelves maſters of Heden, Saiens, and Salſe, which laſt was taken by the young Prince of Conde, who gives the marks of an extraordinary valour; but the Spaniards have retaken theſe places, which have coſt them dear. It is ſaid that the governor left by the Prince of Conde there, being preſſed by the Spaniards to ſurrender the place, threw out to them an hot white loaf, ſaying, "That thoſe who eat of this bread would not ſurrender themſelves before the enemies come to the time wherein they might eat ice."

Yet the place was ſurrendered before the ſpring time was come to change the face of the earth; ſo far were they from holding out till it was covered with ice.

This king immediately appeaſed the inſurrections which were made in Normandy. But what wilt thou ſay of Caſimir, the King of Poland's brother, who being returned a ſecond time into France alone and diſguiſed, was diſcovered and carried priſoner to the caſtle in the wood of Vinciennes, near Paris, where he is carefully guarded?

The war has been very cruel in Italy between the three parties, who are extremely animated againſt one another. Prince Thomas, of the Houſe of Savoy, drove out by ſurpriſe the French from Turin; but thou wilt ſoon underſtand that our capital enemies, the Spaniards, have been beaten and entirely defeated under Cazal, by the Count Harcourt, of the Houſe of Lorrain.

The Spaniards and Dutch have made a great noiſe in the ocean with their fleets; the former came with fourſcore veſſels of war, to land fifteen thouſand men in Flanders; but having been met by Van Tromp, a commander of great courage and experience, there was a bloody battle fought, which laſted long, but at length ended in the defeat of the Spaniards.

The Dutch have taken thirteen ſhips, and above twenty of them have been driven by bad weather on the coaſts of England, where they are loſt, and eight others have had the good fortune to get into Dunkirk.

The victory of the Dutch is complete, having loſt but one ſhip in the whole engagement, againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, and whoſe ſubjects they were formerly.

Bear with me, illuſtrious and happy Kaimacham, wanting ſtrength to continue on writing, though it were the victories of Amurath which I were to relate.

I ſhall make known to thee, on the firſt opportunity, whatever ſhall come to my knowledge. In the mean time, the Creator of all things direct thee in all thy ways, and proſper all thy undertakings.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1640.

XVI.—*To* Donet Oglou.

I am in a manner raiſed from the dead by reading thy letter; there is not a line or ſyllable, but ſhows the marks

of a true heart, and a tender and real ſympathy with my condition: I pray Heaven, we may do nothing, either of us, to leſſen this affection.

Thou informeſt me in thy letter of the departure of Iſouf for Mecca: I give thee a thouſand thanks for the money thou haſt given him, for the offering of a ſacrifice in my name on the ſacred mountain, and to diſtribute here below the alms which I enjoined him. I admire thy bounty, and the charitable care thou haſt had of the ſalvation of thy friend Mahmut, in ſending one of our devotees to Medina, to go the pilgrimage and ſay prayers for me. In a word, I ſee thy kindneſs makes thee foreſee and provide againſt all my wants. There is no place or time where I receive not the marks of thy favour.

Seeing I am ſo dear to thee, and loving thee ſo greatly as I do, let not diſtance of place, poverty, diſgrace, impriſonment, or any other misfortune, extinguiſh, or ſo much as damp our mutual affection.

I have, in a manner, ſtole the time I write to thee; for I have nothing which is truly mine, and I make thee a preſent of a thing which I owed the Kaimacham, for whom I ought to employ more time in writing. But let us lay aſide all theſe troubleſome affairs, and entertain one another with an entire confidence and familiarity. Thou wanteſt not wit, employ it in the ſtudy of hiſtory, after ſufficient inſtruction in the matters which concern religion. If thou wilt be a prince among other men, ſeparate thyſelf from the crowd, by thy application to good authors; read much, yet read little; read ever good books, there being few of them, and thus thou wilt read much. If thou canſt attain to the knowledge of whatſoever is known of men, thou wilt be a kind of god amongſt them; whereas thou wilt be of the number of beaſts if thou faileſt of acquiring the notices thou

ought'ſt to have. I wiſh thou wouldſt mind more for thy friend's ſake what paſſes in the ſeraglio, in the divan, and in the prince's moſt ſecret councils, to know what is ſaid there againſt me, and for me: Good and ſeaſonable advice does oftentimes hinder much miſchief, and does a great deal of good. Friendſhip makes thoſe things which are otherwiſe hard, very eaſy: "He that is not ready," ſays an holy man amongſt the Chriſtians, "to ſuffer all things, and to loſe all, and his very will too, for the ſake of him that he loves, deſerves not the name of a friend."

Let us ever forget the words, mine and thine: Thy good fortune is mine, even as thy diſgraces are: if we thus eſtabliſh our friendſhip, why may we not, though modern Turks, compare ourſelves to thoſe ancient Greeks, who have given ſuch glorious marks to the world of their friendſhip? Why may we not be the imitators of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, who contracted ſo ſtrict an union, that nothing could change it? Although we were not born the ſame day, in the ſame climate, and in the ſame town, as Polyſtratus and Hypoclides, who were born in the ſame houſe, at the ſame hour, and lived always together, and fell ſick at the ſame time, and loved equally; yet let us ſurpaſs them in affection. Love we one another more than Theſeus and Pirrithous; more than Damon and Pithias; the former of which contracted in arms, and the other in ſtudies, that ſtrict amity that has rendered them ſo recommendable to poſterity. If thou knoweſt any ſecret whereby to reſtore my appetite, which I have loſt, ſend it me. I am here ſpectator of a million of mouths, who eat four times a-day, and conſume fifteen thouſand oxen every week, and fifteen thouſand other pieces of animals, beſides mutton, veal, hogs, not to reckon all ſorts of fowls, and fruits produced by the earth, and the fiſhes from the ſeas and rivers.

I am forced to die with hunger with my meat in my hands; and in a town where there is an abundance of all ſorts of things, I want all things. Bread, which is ſo pleaſant to the eye, and ſo ſavoury to the taſte of all other people, is naufeated by me. Wine only, becauſe it is forbidden by our law, rejoices the ſight of me, and ſtirs up a deſire of drinking. Let me hear oft from thee; let thy letters be inſtructive, and be levelled againſt my melancholy temper. The God of Jahomet keep thee ever in health, and make thee love me, as thou doſt, continually.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1640.

XVII.—*To* Adonai *the Jew, at Genoa.*

Thou art as lazy in writing, as inconſiderable in thy judgment of things. Thou haſt written to the Grand Viſier, that this republic is diſpoſed to join its forces to that of Venice, for its aſſiſtance in the war againſt the Porte; but what ground haſt thou for this advice? And if the Grand Viſier ſhould oblige thee to give a reaſon for this, how canſt thou ſatisfy his curioſity, and hinder him from accuſing thee of great lightneſs?

I now received a copy of the letter thou didſt write to Conſtantinople, for which I thank thee. It would have been better I had received the original; for I would not have ſent it. There is no likelihood that a republic, ſo deſirous of eſtabliſhing a peace in her dominions, will diſturb her own quiet for the ſervice of a ſtate with which ſhe is always at war.

Had the Genoeſes any cauſe of complaint againſt Amurath, they would want neither ſoldiers, nor arms, nor veſſels, nor money, to raiſe enemies againſt him. But

at preſent, whilſt their affairs are in a full calm, both abroad and at home, they make (with greater prudence than the Venetians) war in the Spaniſh Indies with their regiſters, and arithmetic; and they have always the advantage in this kind of combat, wherein there is no example they ever loſt. Let this nation alone in peace: Write rather to the Porte, that the Genoeſes, condemned by nature to dwell in the rocks and deſart mountains, have found the means of making theſe the moſt delicious abodes in Europe.

Tell the Grand Viſier, that ſo many extravagant philoſophers, who continually ſearch for what they will never find, have at length ſhowed, that there is no other place where are more perfect chemiſts to be found, having converted into gold almoſt all the ſtones of their country, changed the horror of their deſarts into moſt pleaſant gardens; and the cottages of the ancient Ligurians are transformed into palaces, enriched with marble and porphyry, with ſo great magnificence and propriety, that no houſes are comparable to theirs. To which thou mayeſt add, that the inheritance of the pooreſt Genoeſe does at this time much ſurpaſs thoſe of their predeceſſors. Show him they have begun to give conſiderable ſuccours to great and puiſſant monarchs, by immenſe ſums; and that, in fine, in the regiſters of particular traders, one may ſee the names of the greateſt monarchs on earth, to whom they are become creditors.

Be more careful of what thou writeſt for the future; and when thou giveſt advice, ſet down what thou knoweſt without exaggerations, and be reſerved in what is doubtful: Never write falſehoods in thy diſpatches. Be alſo never the author of vulgar rumours, and ſtories made by people at leiſure, who abound with extravagancies.

God help thy underſtanding, and heal thy diſtempers, if thou haſt any.

Paris, 10th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1640.

XVIII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE Chriſtians are become magicians; or, to ſpeak better, the Spaniards who make war in Piedmont, have filled the world with aſtoniſhment by an extraordinary and new inchantment. I wrote to thee, there were two great armies before Turin, one to take it, and the other to ſuccour it; but I have not yet made known to thee, that the cannon of the Spaniards are become couriers, who carry their diſpatches in the air into the beſieged cities, and moreover ammunition, powder, ſaltpetre, and money; a marvellous invention, which fills me with admiration in writing it. There is a man in the camp of General Leganez, who makes braſs bullets ſo artificially, that having ſhot them into the ditch of the place, they have for a long time ſuccoured the beſieged. It is ſaid, that being made in a vice, and hollowed within, they have ſerved for two uſes, to convey into Turin what was wanting, and to bring back into the Spaniards camp the things they moſt needed. But this induſtry proved in the end uſeleſs; for after ſeveral conflicts, Turin has fallen again into the hands of King Lewis, who has therein re-eſtabliſhed the Dutcheſs of Savoy, to the great ſatisfaction of her people, who have thereupon ſhowed the ſigns of the greateſt joy. This re-eſtabliſhment is owing to the valour and conduct of Count Harcourt, who has ſuſtained and repelled the aſſaults of two armies ſtronger in number than his own. This captain has made his name as famous in Italy, as were heretofore

thoſe of the heroes of Rome and Athens. The Marquis of Leganez undertook the ſiege of Cazal, an important place belonging to the Duke of Mantua, ſituated on the famous river of Po in Italy. Count Harcourt not being able with all his army to put ſuccours into the place, he took the party of forcing himſelf the beſieged, entering on horſeback into the lines with his ſword in his hand, where he was followed by ſome of his gentlemen. The Spaniards being ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed, found no ſafety but in retreat, which they made diſorderly; and the French, under ſuch a captain, bore away that day the greateſt and moſt glorious victory they ever won in Italy.

If thou requireſt an account of me of what has paſſed in Germany, I can tell thee, that the war has been carried on there this year with equal ſucceſs and loſſes to both parties, to whom fortune has been ſometimes favourable, and other whiles contrary.

But I am informed there is a deſign of making a great aſſembly at Cologne, to re-eſtabliſh a peace between all the Chriſtian princes; and that the King of France has named for his plenipotentiary there, the Cardinal Julius Mazarini, an Italian by nation, a man of great parts and experience in buſineſs.

Prince Caſimir is ſet at liberty, at the entreaty of the King of Poland, his brother, and has been ſince well received by the king, who made him dine at his table, and preſented him with a rich diamond. The town of Arras which the French have taken in the Spaniſh Netherlands is of great importance, and is a conſiderable loſs to the Catholic king, and will give great reputation to his enemies, that have taken the place in the ſight of a great army, commanded by the Cardinal Infant, governor of the Low Countries; which conqueſt has mightily

raiſed the French courage, and increaſed the glory of their prince.

The queen is brought-to-bed of a ſecond ſon, who was born the 21ſt of September, and he is named the Duke of Anjou.

The Spaniards are as unfortunate on the ſea, as at land. Their fleet, which returned from the Weſt Indies, richly laden with commodities of all ſorts, have been moſt of them diſperſed by the French naval army, commanded by the Duke of Breze. The Spaniards truly fought with much valour, but fifteen thouſand of their men were ſlain, and two hundred taken priſoners, together with five great veſſels richly laden. One of their great galleons was burnt; and it is ſaid the other ſhips were ſaved, having firſt thrown the beſt part of their lading overboard, which they had brought with ſuch great care and pains from the other world.

That which has paſſed on the ocean, has not hindered the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux from ſhowing the ſtrength of the king his maſter on the Mediterranean, where he has fought an occaſion of fighting the Spaniards with a lighter army, conſiſting for the moſt part of galleys. He had ſent a defiance to the Duke de Farrandine, general of the Spaniſh galleys; who being unwilling to accept of the challenge, this prelate advanced towards the coaſt of Naples, where he did ſome miſchief.

One may ſay, that the misfortunes of Philip, King of Spain, are as great this year as his power is. But it is ſaid, theſe loſſes are not comparable to what he is threatened with, if Portugal and Catalonia ſhake off the yoke of his domination, as the common report runs.

I have heard much talk in general on theſe conſiderable affairs, without being, however, informed of any certain particulars. But henceforward, when I ſhall be

able to leave my chamber, to go into the churches, walks, and gardens, about the city and the court, I ſhall let nothing paſs without a ſtrict inquiry, and give a faithful account of whatever deſerves thy notice; and ſhouldeſt thou deſire any particular thing of thy ſlave Mahmut, it is but mentioning it, and thou ſhalt not want an exact and humble anſwer.

It makes me tremble in telling thee, that a report runs here of the death of the invincible prop of the world, the mighty of mighties; in fine, of the glorious Amurath. It is falſe news, I hope, yet however aſſerted with great confidence. The Arbiter of heaven and earth confound all our enemies, and give the Grand Signior, and thyſelf, a life which knows no end, and attended with a happineſs which cannot be increaſed.

Paris, 7th of the laſt Moon, of the Year 1640.

XIX.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

The lovely Greek, after whom thou inquireſt ſo earneſtly, is long ſince retired into France, and has been married eighty moons to a great French merchant, with whom I am not acquainted, but am informed is very rich, and fortunate in his dealings; but infinitely more fortunate in being the huſband of Daria Lena Maani, by whom he has ſeveral fine children.

This charming Greek does now profeſs the Roman religion, which is the only fault I find in her. I never knew woman whoſe whole carriage is ſo graceful, who does all things with ſuch a careleſs exactneſs, and whoſe virtue is leſs moroſe. Mere chance brought me acquainted with her; whom I no ſooner ſaw, but I was ſtruck with admiration. She came to Paris the laſt year to ſo-

licit a lawſuit againſt a ſtranger about an eſtate. It was at court, and in the preſence of the king himſelf, that I firſt ſaw Daria: She ſpake to him ſo ſweetly, that ſhe ſoon obtained what ſhe deſired; and at the ſame inſtant, I felt ſuch inexpreſſible paſſions and longings after her acquaintance.—Suffer me, my dear Dgnet, to tell thee, that never any creature made ſuch deep impreſſions in the heart of a man, as this charming Greek did in mine.

I drew near to her as ſoon as I could. I ſpake to her in her own language, telling her I was an Arabian; and ſhe anſwered me with as great modeſty as benignity. I went the day following to give her a viſit in her own lodgings; where this adorable perſon received me with the greateſt civility, not forbidding me a return; being pleaſed, perhaps, to meet with one that could ſpeak her own language, which is very rare in theſe parts.

Since then I could not for my life forget her: I have ſerved her with the greateſt diligence, and ſo doated on her, that I forgot myſelf and thee, and, if I may dare to ſay ſo, the Grand Signior too. Pardon this infidelity on the account of a paſſion which knows no moderation, being not able to withſtand the force of ſo invincible an enemy.

Daria is young, of a generous temper, and in whoſe whole deportment there is no grace wanting. Her virtue is far above Lucretia's; for this Roman lady killed herſelf, having firſt endured the violences of a tyrant; whereas ſhe would die before ſhe would come to ſuch a trial. If you have ſeen her at Conſtantinople you muſt have known her perfections. I, for my part, who only knew her at Paris, have remarked four beauties in her perſon, which I believe are not to be found in any of thoſe ladies kept in the ſeraglio. Her eyes, her mouth, her teeth, and her hands, ſeem to have been made only to furniſh the

god of love with darts. She is ſure to ſtrike where ſhe will with her fine black eyes full of fire; and ſhe has alſo the ſecret of healing the wound ſhe makes, when ſhe pleaſes. As ſoon as ever ſhe opens her mouth, the three graces are ſeen to ſit ſporting in her countenance; and her body, moreover, is ſo proportioned in all its parts, that had ſhe lived in the time of Phidias, he had certainly taken her for the model of his Venus, which was the admiration of all the world.

I have plied this fair Greek with viſits, loved her even to idolatry; my reſpect has been ever equal to her virtue; and the greateſt favour I obtained from her was to ſuffer me thus to ſpeak to her: "I love you, Daria; Daria, I adore you;" but ſhe would never ſuffer the leaſt expreſſion which might make her underſtand any thing elſe.

This incomparable beauty often ſaid to me, "Mahmut, I have a great reſpect for you, becauſe you are diſcreet and virtuous, and ſhould alſo love thee, were thou not a man. Live on ſtill as thou haſt done, and thou wilt thereby oblige me to reſpect thee yet more; but think not to obtain from Daria any more than an innocent affection; I owe all to my huſband, and I will never be unfaithful to him." If I ever attempted to ſnatch any ſmall favour, it was always in vain, having ever repelled me in ſuch a manner as made me loſe all hope, and, at the ſame time, feel a new increaſe of paſſion. Conſider, dear Oglou, what paſſed then in my heart, and what a war I was to ſuſtain.

In my great inquietudes, and ſharpeſt and cruelleſt pains, philoſophy ſupplied me with no other remedies but patience: She ſet before me the examples of the eſteem which the ancients had for pudicity; but ſhe hindered me not from alſo remembering, that we find in hi-

ſtir not out of my chamber; and as to my books, they will yield me no comfort. My only care is to nouriſh my diſtemper; whereby I ſtudy to make myſelf more miſerable, becauſe it is not in my power ſo much as to ſeek the way to the only happineſs I wiſh for. Mahmut may be ſaid to be the ſon of ſorrow; my beard is naſty and overgrown; I am out of love with myſelf, comfortleſs, avoiding all ſociety, and am become inviſible to all people. I have no hope amongſt ſo many cauſes of deſpair, but the aſſurance which Daria has given me, that I poſſeſs a place in her heart; and I believe it, becauſe ſhe ſays ſo. Heaven has given her a frank and generous ſoul, and promiſes her great things in the courſe of her life. I have ſecretly drawn her horoſcope; as far as I could find, all the planets are favourable to her; ſhe is to live a great while; Fortune will ſecond her intentions; ſhe will enjoy an uninterrupted health: and this lovely perſon will ever gain the advantage on all that ſhall oppoſe her. Happy is he that ſhall be of the number of her friends, but more happy is he that ſhall be beloved of her, for he may aſſure himſelf of being beloved of the handſomeſt and moſt deſerving lady in the world.

Read my follies with ſome indulgence, and be not angry with me when thou knoweſt I was ready to renounce my religion for that of Daria; ſhe began to convince me, and I began to believe, that the religion of the moſt perfect and moſt virtuous of women was the beſt. If thou haſt intereſt enough in the Grand Vifier, or the Kaimacham, obtain for me the permiſſion of leaving Paris for ſix moons only, but by no means let them know the occaſion. I love much, abſent from Daria; but it ſeems to me I do not yet love enough: I would have more violent tranſports during her abſence than thoſe I ſuffer whilſt I ſee her; to the end, I may ſay, that at all

times, and in all places, never any body loved ſo much. I have diſcovered to thee my whole heart; excuſe my paſſion, if thou wilt not excuſe thy friend ſo horribly tormented with it; and remember what the beautiful Roxalana ſaid to the great Solyman, "That the pleaſure of commanding, and making one's ſelf obeyed, is to be reckoned but in the ſecond rank of pleaſures; whereas that of loving, and being beloved, is the firſt."

Henry IV. was one of the greateſt kings of France, than whom no man ever more greatly loved. When he reproached the Duke de Biron with the love he had for a lady, mark what this cavalier told him: "Great King, how is it poſſible thou ſhouldſt not be indulgent to lovers, who haſt ſo often ſaid when thou waſt in love, thou forgotteſt thyſelf, thy kingdom, and thy ſubjects?" And this, dear Oglou, is what has happened to me at Paris, with this admirable perſon, whom thou couldſt not find at Conſtantinople. But alas! I ſhould be an unhappy friend, if with ſuch a love as mine I ſhould prove thy rival. I will not imagine it; yet I muſt tell thee, that rather than yield thee Daria, I will ſacrifice to thee all the time I have to live. I have given my picture to this charming Greek, who has received it very courteouſly, yet rather as the work of an excellent painter than the picture of a lover.

But being full of goodneſs, and perfectly diſcreet, ſhe ſaid thus to me when I gave it her: "Mahmut, thank Heaven thou art not handſome; ſuch ſort of men have not ordinarily all the ſucceſſes they pretend to in their amours. Wiſe ladies think theſe kind of people doat too much on themſelves; and thoſe that are diſdainful, find them not ſubmiſſive enough and reſpectful; and ſuch as fear evil tongues, dare not look on them; and alſo thoſe gentlemen imagine ladies favours are granted them be-

cauſe they cannot withſtand them, and they expect oftentimes to be entreated to receive them: whereas thoſe to whom Nature has not been ſo liberal of her favours, do more than barely love; they adore their miſtreſſes, they are always humble, and know how to gain the coyeſt beauty by their reſpectfulneſs. As to thy part, who art none of the faireſt, thou wilt be happy if thou changeſt not thy manner of living with me."

It is impoſſible for me to ſay whether Daria has any conſiderable imperfection, being too greatly prepoſſeſſed by my paſſion, to diſcover defects in a perſon whom I regard as an angel. Time and her promiſes will one day ſhow me, whether ſhe has the vices uſual to thoſe of her nation, which are commonly an infidelity covered over with the moſt ſpecious pretences, and a continued diſſimulation.

However, ſend me a caſk of the white balm of Mecca, and of the beſt ſort for ſcent thou canſt get; and at the ſame time ſend me alſo ſome of that precious eaſtern-wood, whoſe ſcent is admirable to perfume the body. I have promiſed the fair Daria this preſent; let me ſoon have it, to the end I may accuſtom Daria to the neatneſs and delicacies of the Mahometans. Preſerve alſo thy health; and, if thou envieſt me, love as much as I do; but love with continency, if thou wilt love long, and be long beloved.

The Great God preſerve thee from loving, however, ſo exceſſively as thy friend Mahmut does; the dolors being therein always certain, and the fruition uncertain.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1641.

XX.—*To the Invincible* Vizier Azem.

The Chiaus arrived here this ſame moon in which I write to thee, and is in perfect health, with all his attendants.

I do not tell thee in what manner he was received by the people at Paris, it being of ſmall importance, ſeeing they have no other part in the government of the kingdom than that of obeying.

The populace curiouſly obſerved his habit, his beard, and his gait, all as extraordinary. It is certain (Invincible Leader of his Armies, in whom God has placed his authority of governing the earth), our envoys are not eſteemed wherever they come, unleſs amongſt the moſt rational and honeſt part of mankind, which are always the leaſt number.

Not only the common ſort run to ſee our ambaſſadors, for the veſtments they wear, to which their eyes are not accuſtomed, but even conſiderable perſons have the ſame curioſity. Some ſilently approve; others lift up their hands to note their aſtoniſhment; and others, by an inſolent murmur, diſcover their contempt, not underſtanding the juſtice due to ſtrangers, whoſe manners and faſhions ought never to be blamed; it being impoſſible but whole nations muſt have good reaſons for their cuſtoms and practices ſince ſo many ages.

But he was not thus received at Court, where the king and his miniſters do all things with great prudence; being reſpected as a man that brought good news, and ſent by the greateſt and moſt puiſſant emperor in the world. As to the ſubject of his coming, every body ſpeaks diverſly. The miniſters of foreign princes are fearful leſt the new ſultan ſhould attempt the entire ruin of Chriſtendom, and

prove more terrible than Amurath. In the mean time, this heatheniſh people ſhow incredible joy at the burning of the Imperial city of Conſtantinople. But the king has no part in the ſentiments of his ſubjects.

Many ſay that the King of Red Heads will renew the war with the empire, and is perſuaded to this by the Great Mogul; and there are ſome who affirm he has already laid ſiege to Babylon. But thoſe who ſpeak with more ſenſe, and leſs hatred, affirm, that all the Porte's enemies are like reeds expoſed to the wind, which will be eaſily overthrown, if the French take not part with them; and it is the folly of this nation (who believes herſelf ſuperior to all others, and the arbiter of the world) to think too well of herſelf, becauſe ſhe is reſpected as a friend to the faithful muſſulmans.

The Jews (Invincible Viſier, Principal Miniſter of the Empire, favoured of God), are the curſedeſt race of all nations; the Chriſtians accuſed them of having ſet Conſtantinople on fire; and greatly praiſed the Greeks for quenching it, to which, ſay they, they have no leſs contributed by their hands than by the fervency of their prayers; and that Heaven had preſerved it from a total ruin, becauſe of the ſacred relics of ſo many Chriſtians, whoſe bodies lie buried in our moſques.

The news which comes from foreign countries, does every day denote the diſorder there is in all parts, there being nothing heard from the ſide of Spain but ſecret conſpiracies and public revolts.

The people of Catalonia are in a continual commotion, and ſo irritated, that they give no farther quarter to the Spaniards; and from Portugal there comes more ſurpriſing news.

London is as full of diſquiet, new parties every day forming themſelves againſt their ſovereign Charles, maſter

of thoſe three ſo famous iſlands; whence it appears, that the God of the Nazarenes is angry with theſe unbelieving people.

I ſhall not fail to inform thee in due time of ſuch events as deſerve thy knowledge; for if things do not ſoon change their poſture, theſe countries, forſaken of Heaven (ſeeing the true law, eſtabliſhed by our prophet, is not received here), will ſoon change their maſters, their manners, and religion.

I adore, with the profoundeſt humility, and with my head lying at thy invincible feet, the authority which the ſultan has entruſted thee with, and which thou deſerveſt, as well for thy faithfulneſs as the greatneſs of thy actions.

Paris, 20th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1641.

XXI.—*To* CARA HALY, *the Phyſician, at Conſtantinople.*

SINCE I received thy letter, and the marks of thy remembrance, I imagine myſelf much better. I make two meals a-day. I walk about in the morning, my appetite increaſes; I have no more of thoſe nauſeous belches; I can read longer; and I ſleep a-nights more ſoundly: Yet I cannot ſay I am in perfect health; ſo long an illneſs has deprived me of that which I do not find return. There is wanting to my intellectual faculties a certain kind of vivacity and readineſs in their operations, which is extremely abated; but I know not whether this be an effect of the pain I ſuffered, or whether it comes not from nature weakened; as faſt as our life advances to throw itſelf, as it were, into the arms of death, which is what is moſt certain for me. I would willingly entertain thee on the condition wherein I find myſelf, could I

ſtory almoſt all the philoſophers more tranſported with venereal pleaſures, than retained by any precept of wiſdom. Diogenes and Ariſtotle, became they not fools hereby? And Seneca, whoſe morals are the rules of the wiſeſt, was he not driven out of Rome for his adulteries? I tell thee plainly, the precepts of philoſophy have influenced me not a whit; I derided them, and was reſolved to love on, and that more exceſſively than all the philoſophers together. Daria's ſoft ſeverity has laid on me ſtronger laws than all the dogmas of the Stoicks; ſo that nothing can make me change my reſolution of loving her eternally. If it be true that love is a weakneſs, only men, who are noble creatures, are thereunto ſubject; it being certain that mean ſouls cannot love, becauſe they have no heart. "Nature's original is far higher than reaſon;" one is the work of God, whereas the other comes from man. Be not then aſtoniſhed, if Reaſon does ſo oft yield to Nature.

Daria had a mind to learn Italian, which ſhe thought a better language than others. I taught her a great deal of it in a little time; but buſineſs quickly deprived an unhappy maſter of the moſt perfect of ſcholars. She ſaid once to me, "Mahmut, let us have a perpetual amity for one another, but let us love and eſteem Virtue far before Friendſhip. Teach me Hiſtory and Geography, to the end, that knowing kingdoms, towns and provinces, and thoſe that govern them, I may know into how many parts this earth, which appears ſo admirable, is divided; I may now learn the forces, methods of government, manners, religions of nations, the difference of ſeas and of mountains, of lakes and rivers, of inhabited places, iſlands and deſerts, that I may not confound the barbarous with the civilized nations, and republics with monarchies."

My worthy friend, ſo noble an inclination, joined with a ſingular grace, and attended with ſo many rare qualities, as well ſpiritual as corporal, have reduced the poor Mahmut to a ſlavery more rigorous than that which he ſuffered with thee in Sicily. How many nights have I paſſed in horrible reſtleſſneſs? And how many times have I vainly believed I was with Daria, whom I fought in my chamber; when ſleep ſucceeding long watching, repreſented her to me in a dream more complaiſant than ordinary? In a word, Daria ſo filled my thoughts, that I forgot my books, and avoiding alſo the company of my friends, ſhe alone was my daily ſtudy, and I renounced all other divertiſements: the fineſt ladies were nauſeous to me; the fineſt gardens ſeemed horrible foreſts, which ſerve for a retreat to ſavage beaſts. In fine, my paſſion (friend Oglou) comes to that exceſs, that I can find no remedy. My tears were of none effect to ſoften Daria, and I have caſt myſelf a thouſand times in vain at her feet; all my cares and reſpects have ſerved only to give me proofs of her virtue. Receive as thou oughteſt the confidence I put in thee; and if thou haſt not an heart that can love ſo ardently, at leaſt have ſome complaiſancy towards a man whoſe paſſion has no bounds, and reproach me not with having had too much weakneſs for having been vanquiſhed by a woman. It is women that have always won the greateſt victories; it is their trade to conquer, and even thoſe too who ſubdue all things. It is impoſſible for me to comprehend, how I could love ſo ſtrongly without dying; neither can I imagine how I ſhall live, if I be long deprived of the ſight of her I love. Daria has left Paris, and is diſtant thence above three hundred miles; conſider then the condition I am in: I reckon myſelf in a ſolitary place, although there be above a million of inhabitants in the town where I dwell. I

overcome the weakneſs of my diſpoſition, and the coldneſs of the ſeaſon, which pierces me, maugre all my care to prevent it in this icy climate. The ink I write with freezes on my pen, and a body may ſay the fire freezes too, wanting, as it does, its uſual activity, the cold being ſo ſharp that it extinguiſhes the natural heat. The city where I dwell appears on a ſudden tranſformed into cryſtal: the northern wind has in one night frozen the river; and all the fountains which were wont to quench the thirſt of a million of people, are dried up. All trade ſeems to have ceaſed; the rich are retired to their fires, and the poor are creeping about the ſtreets, where, notwithſtanding the exerciſes they uſe to oppoſe the cold, they ſeem already ſtarved. The bread is become like marble or an hard ſtone; all things are frozen, and ancient people affirm never the like has happened in their days, or in the times of their fathers. There has been found, ſome few miles from Paris, in the great road, two men clad in very coarſe ſtuff, without ſhifts, their legs naked, heads ſhaved, and cords about their middle, dead with cold: they were found embracing one another, thinking thereby to communicate mutual heat, to keep off, or at leaſt retard, their deaths. Theſe people are derviſes of the Latin church, which are called capuchins, whoſe life is a continual penance. They riſe in the night to their devotions, and ſpend their time in contemplation. They live upon alms which they receive of the Chriſtians, which conſiſt of bread, and roots and herbs; and if the charity of theſe Nazarenes extends to the giving any thing more, they uſe it with ſobriety. They ſleep on ſtraw, and are obliged to wear the habit night and day, which is dreadful to look on, and in which they are buried when they die. When their occaſions require them to travel, they are not permitted to go on horſe-

back, in a coach or chair, but only in veſſels when they go by ſea, or on rivers, ſo that they have only that granted them which Cato was ſo afraid of, and every body elſe but fools, which is, to travel by water.

In fine, their life is accounted a continual hell; and they will be finely chouſed if they find not a heaven when ſtripped of their mortality.

Theſe religious are under the direction of one general; obſerve a long ſilence, which is a great virtue among them, and with this are ſo exactly obedient to their head, that they have no will left.

They have very obſcure priſons under ground, whereinto they thruſt thoſe who ſcandalize their order by their crimes; for, notwithſtanding the holineſs of their rule, and the vigilance of their ſuperiors, to make it obſerved, there is never wanting ſome who wander from the right way, and often make uſe of the eſteem which men have of their piety, to commit ſuch enormities as would be ſoundly puniſhed by the men of the world. Theſe kind of derviſes cannot handle money without being guilty of a mortal ſin. Notwithſtanding this profeſſion of poverty, I have ſeen theſe derviſes dreſt up with greater magnificence than our mufti, in the time when they celebrate their maſſes, aſcending up to the great altar, covered with the fineſt linen, and thereon veſts embroidered with gold, the moſt delicately wrought as can be imagined, and oft enriched with pearls and precious ſtones. In their ſacrifice they eat the conſecrated bread, which they call the Meſſias his body, which they are wont to place on a plate of fine gold; and they alſo put into cups of the ſame metal, a liquor which they ſay is changed into the blood of their God, as the bread into the body, as ſoon as they have pronounced certain words which they ſecretly mutter.

The ſacrifice is offered every day, and not only the people are preſent at it, but the greateſt of the kingdom, with their monarch on his knees, and in a ſupplicating poſture. There ſtand about the altar ſeveral ſtately candleſticks, wherein burn white wax-candles, which render the ſacrifice ſtill more ſolemn.

I relate to thee what I have ſo often ſeen; for I chooſe to be frequently in theſe infidels churches, and at their ſolemn feſtivals, the better to conceal who I am.

Yet happy is he that lives ſatisfied with himſelf, aſſured he ſerves God in the manner he will be ſerved. Thou haſt this good fortune, and that of being in thine houſe at thine eaſe. When thou goeſt out thou wearеſt a long veſt down to thy heels, lined with ſoft and warm furs, whilſt I am obliged to cover myſelf barely with a black ſhort cloak, which ſcarcely reaches below my knees, and is too thin to reſiſt the piercing northern blaſts, and is, in truth, a very ridiculous habit; yet which I am obliged to wear for the ſervice of him whoſe ſlave I am, which cannot cover my bandy legs and ill-ſhaped body. I expect, with great impatience, the ſeaſon which overſpreads the gardens with flowers, the fields with graſs, and crowns the trees with bloſſoms, and brings back the pretty birds, who publiſh the joyful news of the ſpring's approach; that being the time wherein I may expect my health.

As to what remains, thou wilt oblige me in making trial of my friendſhip, that thou mayeſt know there is not in all the empire of the true believers, a more faithful friend, and one that loves thee more cordially. Adieu.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1641.

XXII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE Court of France is an aſſembly of politicians, who diſcover or hide themſelves according to their intereſts, and are more wont to hold their peace than to talk. They explain themſelves in more than one manner on the things which they cannot conceal; and I draw from them what is neceſſary for my inſtruction and thy information. There have happened ſuch ſudden and ſurpriſing motions in Spain as cauſe conſiderable advantages to be hoped for by France, which ſeems to have had a great hand in them, on which thou mayeſt make what reflections thou thinkeſt convenient.

The mountains which divide France from Spain are called the Pyrenees. Catalonia is a province watered on one hand by the Mediterranean Sea, and bounded by Navarre; it lies ſituated at the foot of theſe mountains. The people have taken up arms and vigorouſly oppoſed the Catholic King's miniſters; and the Portugueſes have done the ſame thing, but with different ſucceſs. This kingdom is compriſed within the ſtates of Spain, and the richeſt under her dominion. Her ſituation is advantageous, lying between Galicia and Caſtile, and watered with the ocean, which brings her immenſe riches.

The principal town of Catalonia is Barcelona; and Liſbon is the chief town of Portugal. The firſt has taken for the pretence of its inſurrection, the inſolencies committed by the Proteſtant troops, which ſerved the Catholic King, and were quartered in this province; and the other having long concealed its deſign, has at length ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, and ſet up a king of their own royal race.

It is ſaid that Count Olivarez, the King of Spain's

chief minister and favourite, designing to mortify the Catalonians, horribly charged that country with soldiers, and sent thither the most licentious troops to quarter, imagining to chastise the pride of this people in this manner, without any form or process.

This minister's design has had so far its end, the province being full of divisions and slaughters, there wanting nothing to complete their miseries. The soldiers exercise unheard-of cruelties; they shed, indifferently, the blood of infants, old men and women; overthrowing altars, and ruining temples. The most courageous peasants gather together to repel force with force, and revenge themselves most cruelly on as many of the Castilians as they can light of, without sparing the King's ministers; killing all they meet, seeking those who are hid, to punish them with the greatest rigour; running after those who seek their safety by flight; not pardoning the very priests, if never so little suspected.

The Count of St. Colomme, commanded not long since in Catalonia, with the title of Viceroy; which poor man is now before God, where he receives the recompences or chastisements he has deserved, being the first victim sacrificed to the peasants fury. His blood was the prologue of a dismal tragedy, which will not end without more dismal events to the Spanish monarchy, and the Catalonians themselves.

The viceroy withdrew himself into the arsenal of Barcelona at the first insurrection of the peasants, where he was besieged by a great multitude of these seditious people; and, seeing he could not remain there in safety, he went out to go on board the galleys; but the grossness of his body hindering him from hastening as fast as those who accompanied him in his flight, he remained alone; and, being tired, fell into a swoon, and lay dead for some

time on the ſand between the rocks which lie upon the ſea. His ſervant, the only one that remained with him, brought him again to himſelf by caſting the ſea-water on his face; but he opened his eyes only to ſee his own departure more nearly. He was ſet upon in this condition, wherein he could not ſtir himſelf, by a crew of blood-hounds, who firſt ſhot at him, and then hacked him in pieces, having firſt ſtabbed him in a thouſand places. His ſervant defended him as well as he could, in covering him with his body, but his zeal was fruitleſs; and all the wounds he received ſaved not one from his maſter. He was an African, and had been his ſlave. The courage and fidelity of a man of ſo mean birth, deſerves at leaſt that it ſhould be ſaid of him, that he died in imitating the virtue of thoſe ancient Romans, which are at this day praiſed and admired by all the world.

The viceroy's death ſtopped not the peaſants; they proceeded to exceſſes ſcarcely imaginable; and their barbarity made them commit ſuch horrible, together with ſuch ridiculous actions, as can hardly be expreſſed.

Theſe wretches went to the palace of the Marquis de Ville Franche, general of the galleys, where, having cut the throats of as many as they met with, they burnt and battered all the houſehold ſtuff, and carried in proceſſion on the top of a pike a little braſs figure which they thought a black angel; which figure was only that of a man, wherein a clock was included, whoſe ingenious ſprings made him move his eyes; which ſight ſo ſurpriſed theſe peaſants, who had never ſeen or heard of ſuch a machine, that they remained in ſuch a ſtupidity, as retarded for ſome time the effects of their fury. But there was one more bold than the reſt, who, approaching to the piece, cried out, "It was the familiar ſpirit of the Marquis de Ville Franche, and ought to be ſeized on and

thrown into priſon to take away its power;" which he had no ſooner ſaid, but he laid hands on it, and tied and bound it faſt on the top of a ſpear, and, with great ſhouts, walked it about the town. The ignorant people, capable of any ridiculous impreſſions, as well as the women, who are not hard to be deluded, followed them, convinced that the marquis's devil was carried triumphantly along the ſtreets. Having ran through all the town of Barcelona, this rabble gave the clock into the hands of the biſhop and inquiſitors to exerciſe it, and drive out the devil, whom they thought capable of deſtroying their whole province.

Affairs are carried on more ſeriouſly in Portugal, and at a more moderate rate; the inhabitants of Liſbon, as well as the nobility, have treated the Caſtilians with more humanity: They immediately elected a king, who reigns peaceably as heir of the Crown, and thereby aſcertained of being maintained by the affection and fidelity of the people. There is already news of his coronation, the ceremony of which was performed with great pomp and magnificence. The people, as a mark of their affection, have preſented a million of gold to their new lord; the clergy, ſixty thouſand crowns, and the nobility four hundred; and the new king has taken on him the name of John IV. King of Portugal, inſtead of that of Don John Duke de Braganza.

Never any plot better ſucceeded. The Portugueſes have driven out from them a puiſſant and politic nation without bloodſhed, ſaving that of a villain; but of that thou ſhalt hear more the next opportunity; for I ſhall carefully inform myſelf of the particulars of ſo extraordinary an event, to give an exact account to the viſier. It is ſaid King Philip is the moſt unfortunate prince that ever aſcended the throne, committing his affairs to the

management of another: ſo that it may be ſaid the duke, who reigns as ſovereign in Madrid, has choſen Philip IV. for his favourite. The miniſter commands, and the king obeys; the maſter's weakneſs authoriſes the ſervant's power; the confuſion of that nation being ſo great that thoſe made by Heaven to receive orders, are the only perſons who give them.

I kiſs the hem of thy garment, with all the ſubmiſſion poſſible of a poor and humble ſlave.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1641.

XXIII.—*To* Donet Oglou.

To what purpoſe doſt thou bewail the ruins which the fire has cauſed in Conſtantinople, if there be no remedy for the loſſes thou haſt ſuffered? Not all the viſiers together, nor the prince himſelf, whoſe authority knows no bounds, could reſiſt the fury of this element. What then can we do, wretches as we are, liable to all injuries and diſgraces? Art thou the firſt honeſt man that has been ruined? It is true, Heaven had enriched thee: Thy chambers were hung with the fineſt Perſian tapeſtry; thou hadſt a great number of ſlaves, fine gardens and bathing-places beſet with delicate fountains; muſt thou deſpair for the loſs of the greateſt part of theſe? Comfort thyſelf, ſeeing thou art not in a fault, nor haſt contributed to thine own misfortune?

Thou telleſt me, that the burning of the chief city of the univerſe has deprived thee in one day of all the commodities and conveniences thou haſt laboured for many years: And I anſwer thee, that he which gave thee theſe goods, expects thanks from thee, in that having enriched thee with what thou hadſt not, he did not take from thee thy life at the ſame time.

'Haſt thou ſo ſoon forgotten Seneca's Demetrius? Haſt thou loſt any thing which thou didſt not receive from the liberality of fortune? And if whatever thou hadſt was given thee, wherefore doſt thou afflict thyſelf as if thou couldſt not obtain again as much? Stretch out thy hand towards heaven; pray and beſeech: He that has given thee once, is not impoveriſhed by the liberalities he has ſhowed; but rather aſk of him ſpiritual than theſe temporal gifts, which do all wither and die.

If thou liveſt, thou wilt ſee thyſelf in the ſame condition again: I cannot give thee a better conſolation: I will not lament with thee, it ſeeming to me a fruitleſs thing. If thou beeſt deſirous to forget the loſſes thou haſt ſuffered, conſider the great damages the ſame fire has cauſed to ſo many believers in the ſame city where thou bewaileſt thy misfortunes. How many people that had leſs than thee have loſt more? And how many better people than thyſelf, as more ſubmitting to the will of Heaven, have ſuffered miſeries infinitely greater than thine?

So great a conflagration, wherein the chief city of the world ſaw itſelf near reduced to aſhes, muſt needs have been a very diſmal ſpectacle. When I read the relation which thou haſt made me, I tremble with horror to ſee ſo many magnificent houſes and ſtately moſques devoured by the flames, and reduced to nothing; with ſuch riches, goods, houſehold ſtuff, and ineſtimable merchandiſes, public regiſters, and choice manuſcripts, whoſe loſs can never be repaired, being become the prey of this element, which devours all things. But thou and I are not the firſt, neither ſhall be the laſt, who bewail the ruins of our country. How many towns in Aſia, how many in Greece, have been ſwallowed up in an inſtant by dreadful earthquakes! And how many ruins are to be

found in the famous cities of Syria and Macedonia! And how many times have the iſles of Cyprus and Paphos been entirely depopulated! We ſee not only the moſt ſolid edifices periſh, which are the works of men, but even mountains annihilated. There are whole countries which have (as it were) vaniſhed; the ſea has covered ſuch ſpaces of land as might have made whole provinces, and which were extreme populous. How many promontories do we ſee, which were heretofore certain guides to pilots, but are now buried in the ſands, and cauſe oftentimes ſhipwrecks! And if the works of nature be expoſed to ſuch great ruins, what may not mortal men expect to ſuffer! But I ſpend time in relating ordinary accidents, when I might remember thee of greater ruins which the fire made in the ſame imperial city, after it had been built by the great Conſtantine, to whom ſhe owed all her ſplendour, before the mighty and ſucceſsful emperors of the muſſulmans had therein eſtabliſhed the ſeat of their empire.

Under the reign of the Emperor Leo, if I be not miſtaken, the whole continent lying along the Boſphorus, between both the ſeas, was entirely ruined by fire. And twelve years after, under the reign of Baſil, the famous library ſo carefully collected, and with that extreme charge and trouble, and which conſiſted of above two hundred thouſand manuſcripts, with the ſkin of a ſerpent two hundred and twenty feet long, whereon were written the entire works of Homer, was conſumed. The fire which happened in the time of Juſtinian, might make one forget others; the famous temple of St. Sophia, which is at this day our chief moſque, could not be preſerved from the fury of the flames, being almoſt wholly conſumed by it. I ſhall not mention the ruins which have happened by earthquakes under the reign of the Empror

Zeno Izoria. There was a far greater under Bazajet II. for in Pruzia, an entire city, with its houſes, walls, and three thouſand inhabitants, were buried in the entrails of the earth! which muſt convince us there have been in all ages ſuch events, as may inſtruct us to bear our misfortunes with patience, and to believe a Providence, and ſubmit ourſelves wholly to it.

Let us (my dear friend) for once rejoice in an occaſion wherein all others mourn; in that we are able to perſuade ourſelves "There is nothing here below deſerves our care." I do not ſay we ſhould laugh like Nero, when he ſaw Rome burning, which he himſelf had fired, and ſang the paſſages of Homer wherein the conflagration of Troy is deſcribed: Rather do as Æneas, who having ſaved from the flames which devoured his country and eſtate, his tutelar gods, his father Anchiſes, his family and himſelf, became an hero that ſerved for an example to poſterity. He did not ſpend his time in bewailing the goods he had loſt, but always kept an undaunted courage in the midſt of the tempeſt which threatened to overwhelm him as ſoon as he was on the ſea, and which forced him to wander from port to port, void of all help, perſecuted by a goddeſs, and other gods who were of her party; and having gallantly endured ſo many diſgraces, he became the founder of the braveſt and famouſeſt nation of the univerſe. Æneas, in ſaving his gods and his father, who were the companions of his fortune, drew down the graces of Heaven, which put an end to his miſeries, in ſettling him in a country where he laid the firſt foundations of an empire, which ſince has given laws to all the world.

Our ſins have kindled the fire at Conſtantinople; the debaucheries, impieties, hypocriſies, and continual rapines, which remain unpuniſhed, are the cauſes of the deſtruction of the famous city of the univerſe.

Can we imagine, when God ſends his judgments down upon us, that we can be able to reſiſt them? Amend thy life, if thou deſireſt to be revenged of fortune, and be proof againſt all her darts. Increaſe in virtue, if thou wouldeſt be invulnerable; be as good in proſperity as in adverſity. Nothing but good works can make thee happy in this world, and live when this world ſhall be no more.

If reaſon cannot ſtop our tears, fortune, I am ſure, will never do it. We ſeem herein very unreaſonable; for when we firſt ſee the light we weep, and when we leave it, we groan.

Live ever with me more nearly than an intimate friend, and imitate (if a man may ſo expreſs himſelf) the fire, which (according to what appears to us) conſumes all things, and converts them into its own proper ſubſtance; but which yet, according to the rules preſcribed by its Creator, burns not the air, nor the other elements, but keeps them united, warms and conſerves them. God has endued men with an inſtinct which ought to do the ſame thing; he has faſtened them one to another with ſuch bonds as nothing can break; I mean the intereſt and mutual needs which they have of one another. There being no body that can be happy and become rich of himſelf, there muſt be dependencies and commerce, without which it is impoſſible to have what is moſt neceſſary. There is alſo a more refined commerce, to wit, the marks of eſteem which men give one another, ſuccours in caſes of need, whether of money or good counſel; the latter of which is all that can be expected from thy faithful Mahmut.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1641.

XXIV.—*To the* BASSA *of the Sea.*

THE veſſels of Afric have again been worſted by the infidels, the particulars of which muſt needs be known to thee before they could come here, where there is much diſcourſe of the accident at Goulette, and the battle of Caragoc, to the great diſadvantage and prejudice of the Mahometan name. Theſe heatheniſh people make public rejoicings for the victories obtained by another nation. It is ſaid, that of five galleys, and three other great veſſels, only one ſhip ſaved itſelf by flight, ſeveral being ſunk to the bottom, together with the Admiral of Caragoc, the reſt having been brought into Malta; and that there were ſix hundred muſſulmans killed; in whoſe death our only conſolation is that they died martyrs, and their blood will cry for vengeance againſt the infidels that have ſhed it.

It is hard to find the iſle of Malta in the chart, and yet harder in the ſea; it being a mere atom of inviſible earth: But it is not ſo with the knights, who are the maſters of it; they being a hundred, often ſeen and felt by us.

Malta is a ſeminary, wherein are brought up the braveſt ſparks in Chriſtendom, picked out from amongſt the moſt illuſtrious families. Theſe perſons know not what fear is; they have impoſed upon themſelves the neceſſity of vanquiſhing or dying; and therefore they get the maſtery of whatever they attempt; and with thoſe few veſſels they have, they make the Ottoman fleets tremble. They wear a golden croſs on their ſtomachs, which is always dipped in the blood of the faithful muſſulmans.—Eclipſe this impious order, by oppoſing the ſacred ſilver of the Ottoman moon againſt the force of ſo ſmall a number of knights. My zeal obliges me to ſay ſuch things as may be troubleſome to thee; and which per-

haps thou knoweſt as well as I; which is, that I am perſuaded thou wilt be the conqueror of theſe pirates, provided thou once reſolveſt to draw out in good earneſt thy ſcimitar, "and caſt its ſheath away."

The king here is very well: He ſaid publicly, when he heard of the victory of the Malteſes, that if he were not a king, he ſhould chooſe to be one of the knights of that place. Thou wilt gain greater honour, and more trophies will be raiſed to thee than were to Ariademus and Cigala, if thou undertakeſt effectually the deſtruction of this people. Thou haſt my prayers, that our holy Prophet would ſtrengthen thy arm; and that God would give thee ſtill favour in the ſight of our moſt puiſſant emperor, choſen to be the chief commander of the world.

Paris, 15th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1641.

XXV.—*To the Invincible* Visier Azem.

An illuſtrious woman of the Houſe of Savoy governed not long ſince in Portugal, in the name of Philip IV. King of Spain. Her name is Margarita, and commonly reſides at Liſbon; but this princeſs, with the title of Vice-Queen, had not the credit or authority neceſſary to ſuſtain the dignity, though ſhe had otherwiſe all the prudence and courage requiſite thereunto.

Michael Vaſconcelli, her chief ſecretary, having uſurped all the authority, carried all things with a high hand; to which he added a moſt griping covetouſneſs, which was no leſs diſadvantageous to his miſtreſs's reputation. And the Marquis de la Puebla, a Caſtilian miniſter, an accomplice of Vaſconcelli, had eſtabliſhed himſelf in this court, as a rigid cenſurer of all the Vice-Queen's actions.

The Chriſtians call theſe two men two pedants, ſet over

the princeſs, as if ſhe had ſtill been in her minority, to correct and regulate her actions.

The too great authority of theſe two miniſters became at length a kind of tyranny. The nobility complained for the loſs of their privileges, and the people at their being oppreſſed with taxes; which made the miniſtry of Vaſconcelli ſeem inſupportable, in which it was ſeen the vice-queen had no part. This princeſs not having the power to ſtop the courſe of the miſchiefs which began to ſpring up, gave advice of it to the court of Spain, and expected thence the remedy. But whether the king was not in a condition to give any, or his miniſters concealed from him the ſtate of things, the miſchiefs increaſed, and Vaſconcelli's friends, by excuſing him, made it almoſt impoſſible to avoid them.

When Margarita repreſented the danger wherein Portugal lay, ſhe was heard as a weak and credulous woman, and was often accuſed of being over timorous, which cauſed a general revolt in this kingdom, which was few day in contriving, and as few hours in executing.

If thou wilt hear thy humble ſlave, I will relate to thee all the circumſtances of ſo great an event; which will ſeem a fable, ſhould we refer ourſelves only to reaſon; but which however is a real hiſtory, as is now well known throughout all Europe.

Never was there a greater hatred between two nations than that which was between the Spaniards and the Portugueſes; and though they had one and the ſame religion, and almoſt the ſame humour, yet it is not to be imagined how far their mutual averſions carried them.

The Portugueſes have a common proverb, which ſays, that a man is obliged to treat and love another man as his brother, whether he be a Turk, a Jew, a Pagan, or a Moor, without excepting the moſt barbarous of mankind; yea, though he were a Spaniard.

They have lived with great patience under the domination of Philip II. and his ſucceſſors, ſince the death of their King D. Sebaſtian (who was killed in Africa, in a battle againſt the Moors), whilſt they were ſuffered to enjoy the privileges which were granted them. Moreover, they ſtill expected the return of their ſovereign, who was ſaid not to have died in the field, but having long wandered about in ſtrange countries, was, in fine, about to return. But the example of the Catalonians made them at length reſolve upon what they now executed. The nobility were the firſt that began the revolt, and paſſed over thoſe bounds which reſpect does ordinarily place between the ſovereign and his ſubjects.—They alleged ſeveral pretences for their rebellion; but the moſt ſpecious was, their unwillingneſs to be ſacrificed in unjuſt wars, wherein the moſt dangerous poſts were committed to them, as they ſeveral times reproached the duke, favourite and miniſter of King Philip IV.

They immediately carried on their intelligences with great ſecreſy; and when they came to declare themſelves, the greateſt perſons conſented to the conſpiracy, and the boldeſt amongſt them have executed it with great valour.

Don Juan, Duke of Braganza, is the greateſt nobleman in this kingdom, and perhaps in all Spain, and already of the age wherein men are wont to have wiſdom, together with ſtrength of body. He wants not for ingenuity and ſweetneſs of temper. He received the crown, after long preſſings and refuſals; and indeed is the more worthy of it, as being the lawful heir to it.

The favourite duke was well enough informed of the reputation and authority of the Duke of Braganza; and conſidering him as a prince who might lawfully pretend to the crown, he made uſe of ſeveral artifices to drive him out of Portugal, or ſeize him priſoner. But

having always tried this in vain, whether by reaſon of the extraordinary watchfulneſs of Don Juan, or that the heavens, on which depend the things here below, had otherwiſe ordered it, it was impoſſible for this miniſter to get ſo good a prey into his hands.

This crafty miniſter has tried all ways, and ſometimes made uſe of the fox's ſkin, and other whiles of the lion's voice, to bring about his ends. Sometimes he tried to draw him to court, offering him the moſt honourable employs there, perſuading him to accompany the Catholic king in his voyage into Catalonia. But the duke knew how to defend himſelf againſt the ſnare, and timely withdrew to Villa Vicioſa, the ordinary place of his abode; and whence he excuſed himſelf from going to Madrid, ſometimes for that he had not ſufficient to bear his charges according to his quality in ſuch a journey, and other whiles on other pretences, with which the favourite duke was obliged to ſeem contented. Though he was not, yet he feigned himſelf to be ſatisfied, to put in practice the moſt exquiſite piece of policy he ever made uſe of.

He ſent him forty thouſand piſtoles, to buy neceſſaries, and at the ſame time ſent him alſo the general command of the troops in Portugal; with order to come to Liſbon, and as high conſtable of the kingdom, to obſerve the motions of the United Provinces, which threatened Spain and Portugal with a powerful fleet. But he had ſent the following order to D. Lopez d'Oſſio: "Thou haſt the command of the naval army; get immediately before Liſbon. Don Juan de Braganza has orders to viſit the veſſels: As ſoon as he ſhall enter the firſt galley, clap him in irons, and immediately depart with this priſoner to Cadiz, where I have appointed people to convey him to Madrid."

Don Lopez could not execute his commiſſion; his army was loſt in the Engliſh ſeas, and it was written in heaven, that Don Juan ſhould live and be a king. This artifice having failed, the duke had recourſe to another, which was, to ſend an order to the Duke of Braganza to viſit all the forts on the frontiers, where there were ſtrict injunctions to detain him. But he perceiving the project of the Spaniſh miniſter, knew ſo well to excuſe himſelf from undertaking this buſineſs, that he made the deſign of his enemy to vaniſh this time alſo, and got leave to retire to Villa Vicioſa. Thoſe who penetrated not the artifices of the court of Spain, were aſtoniſhed at the accumulation of ſo many favours and honours on the perſon of the duke; affirming, the court had intentions of raiſing him to the throne, or bringing him to the ſcaffold; in which laſt they were not miſtaken.

Olivarez, who let ſlip no occaſion of laying ſnares for Braganza, grew the more obſtinate by the difficulties he met with. He ſent him a new order to raiſe troops, and to lead them himſelf into Catalonia, for the chaſtiſement of the rebels; this being of abſolute neceſſity, ſaid he in his letters, for the upholding of the Spaniſh monarchy, to which the revolt of this province cauſed great miſchiefs.

The duke obeyed in part; he raiſed a conſiderable number of troops at his own charge; but he took care of his own perſon. He wrote to the court to excuſe him from that voyage, and added to his excuſes moſt earneſt prayers; repreſenting, that being ſick of the world, he had retired to his own eſtate, to lead there a quiet life, free from the vexations of buſineſs; which obliged him to entreat his Catholic Majeſty to grant him that reſt, which was the only thing he deſired. The Duke de Braganza's letter drew no anſwer from the

Spaniſh miniſter; but his deſigns were diſcovered; and the nobility foreſeeing how likely they were to be brought under a more ſtrict ſubjection, began to murmur, ſaying, it was their duty to rid themſelves of thoſe oppreſſors, who had ſo long peeled them, and ſet up a new form of government. The poor, who ſuffered moſt by the taxes, were the boldeſt, and encouraged the reſt. Some were for ſetting up an elective king; others propoſed the railing to this honour the family of Braganza, who alone ſeemed worthy of it. Some there were who were for putting themſelves under the domination of France; and other perſons of credit among the people were for a democratical government; and others again were for turning the kingdom into a republic.

The nobility were in great perplexity in the choice they ſhould make; for it was not known whether the Duke of Braganza would receive the crown, in caſe it was offered him again; for the moſt qualified perſons of the kingdom had propoſed it to him.

There was none but D. Caſton Cattique, a gentleman as eloquent as ſtout, whom Heaven deſigned for the perſuading of this prince, that could accompliſh it. He pretended to fight a duel with a nephew he had; whom having ſlightly wounded, he left Liſbon, as a man that had brought himſelf into danger; and wandering about from thence, uncertain, as it were, of the place of retreat he would chooſe, he went at length to Villa Viciola, where having found Braganza in his ſolitude, he thus ſpake to him:

"I bring thee this day a crown, which the nobility of Portugal preſent thee; and if thou haſt the courage to receive it, we are ready to put it on thine head. This kingdom belongs to thee, as the undoubted heir of our natural and lawful princes. If thou acceptest of the

crown, the kingdom juſtly belongs to thee; and if thou dareſt not receive it, we will chooſe another ſovereign of greater reſolution, and who is willing to command us. The ſceptre ſhakes in King Philip's hand, by reaſon of the wars made againſt him from all parts. Conſider, if thou receiveſt not at preſent what fortune preſents thee, thou wilt be obliged againſt thy will to obey another: Neither the nobility, the clergy, nor the people, will any longer ſuffer the arrogance of the Caſtilians. It belongs to thee, at preſent, to declare, whether thou wilt reign, and be a happy prince. All the faithful Portugueſe breathe after thee, and deſire thee for their ſovereign. Reſolve to accept of what is ſo advantageous, and let us alone for the executing of our parts."

Don Juan anſwered coldly to ſuch a bold propoſition; more affrighted at the peril there was in ſuch an enterpriſe, than flattered with the hopes of poſſeſſing a kingdom.

But in another conference, wherein the duke was told, the conſpirators were reſolved to raiſe on the throne another king, if he came not to a ſpeedy reſolution; the dutcheſs his wife, who has a man's heart, and is more courageous than her huſband, coming into the converſation, thus ſpake to him with great aſſurance:

"My lord, the Catholic king has ſent for thee again to court; at Madrid thou wilt certainly meet with thy death, and in receiving the crown which is offered thee, thou art ſtill in danger of it; but if thou muſt periſh, which way ſoever thou turneſt thyſelf, is it not more honourable to die a king in thine own country, than to die in chains in a priſon by the hands of thine enemy?"

So courageous a diſcourſe brought Don Juan to a reſolution; wherefore he ſent word to the nobility, of his readineſs to comply with them.

The conſpirators were ready at the hour appointed for the execution of their deſign; being well armed, and each of them accompanied with a good number of young men, who were to follow them, although they knew not the deſign. As ſoon as ever the ſignal was given, they all ſet forth from the places where they were aſſembled; and thoſe that were fartheſt diſtant joined the neareſt, and all together ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of the palace of the vice-queen; they immediately made themſelves maſters of the guard, finding no reſiſtance from them, and this without ſpilling a drop of blood, or doing any violence. They afterwards cried out all together, "Long live the new king, Don Juan de Braganza, and let them die that govern ill." They ſeized on the vice-queen, and entreated her to retire into an apartment, where ſhe ſhould be treated with the reſpect due to a princeſs, but not obeyed as having authority to command them.

Vaſconcelli, who knew himſelf faulty, and to whom his conſcience reproached his crimes, in this moment hid himſelf in a great preſs, under an heap of papers, where having been diſcovered by an old woman, he had immediately his throat cut, and his body thrown out at a window; where he ſerved for ſome time a May-game to the people; who left not one part of his body free from ſome mark of their indignation.

One of this miniſter's domeſtics threw himſelf out at the ſame window his maſter was thrown; not in a deſign of following his fate, but of ſaving himſelf; and he died without its being known whether it was by his fall, or the muſket ſhot which he received.

The confederates with as little trouble ſeized on the galleys and other veſſels in the ports, whence they drove the Spaniards. They afterwards commanded the vice-queen to retire. This princeſs thought ſhe ought on this

occaſion to inſiſt on the greatneſs of her birth; ſhe threatened the conſpirators, and afterwards flattered them, aſſuring them of the clemency of King Philip: She ſet before them the greatneſs of his power, and forgot not to ſpeak of the authority of his favourite, who muſt needs be much offended on this occaſion; exaggerating the offence committed againſt her, both as a princeſs, and depoſitory of the Catholic king's power. But as well her promiſes as her threats were in vain, and ſhe herſelf was at length glad to accept conditions from them, who a while before, by connivance from the prince, might have executed an abſolute power.

In eight days time, all the Caſtilians were ſubdued, or driven out of the kingdom. All the forts were ſurrendered without any trouble to the new king, except the caſtle of St. John; which having made ſome ſlight reſiſtance, was ſold for forty thouſand crowns by the governor.

The Duke of Braganza appeared immediately afterwards in the city of Liſbon, where the people ſoon ſhowed the affection they had for him; the priſon doors were ſet open, and all poor debtors freed, and a great part of the taxes taken off. Such an aſtoniſhing ſucceſs was attended with whatever might ſet forth the joy of the people, who ſolemnized the feſtival with the ſound of trumpets, and the noiſe of the cannon, and by ſhouts and acclamations which reached up to Heaven, whom the Portugueſes thanked for the liberty which they believed they had recovered. This event was accompanied with ſo many miraculous things, that the wiſeſt as well as the vulgar were perſuaded, it was marked in Heaven from all eternity by the finger of God. The clergy, the nobility, the citizens and peaſants, were profuſe in their liberalities on this occaſion, to give their new ſovereign

ample marks of their affection; and even the poor hid their misery, that they might not lessen the public joy.

The Spanish vessels which returned from the new world, which then entered into the ports of Portugal, remained at the disposal of the new king, the pilots not knowing what had happened; so that the coffers of the prince were filled thereby (as it is said) with some millions.

The king was exalted to the throne in the last moon of the last year; and wise people do hope he will reign very happily, all the planets being too well disposed, not to make him finish his reign with the same fortune as he began it.

The vigilant Portugueses have ordered out several vessels filled with good soldiers and necessary provisions, to seize of places and ports which this nation possesses in the new world and in the East Indies; and it is to be supposed they will meet with good success, if fortune prove as favourable to them in America and the Indies, as she was to them in Europe.

As soon as the Duke of Braganza was proclaimed king, he sent manifestoes into all parts, and dispatched couriers and ambassadors to give advice of his promotion in the courts of France, England, Holland, Swedeland, and Denmark. It is not to be imagined the joy which this adventure gave to the Catalonians. The king imparting to them what had happened, offered them also his assistance; and these people answered him with the same offers. And this is the end of sixty-three years of the despotic authority, which the Spaniards have exercised on the Portugueses.

The news of so strange a revolution having been carried into Madrid, hear, and consider well the unhappy condition of the Catholic king, to whom his favourite declared this news.

"Sir," ſaid he, "I come to rejoice with your majeſty at the good news I bring. Your majeſty is now become maſter of a conſiderable dutchy. Don Juan de Braganza has had the boldneſs to make himſelf be proclaimed king of Portugal; has thereby fallen into the crime of læſæ majeſtatis: All his eſtate belongs to you, and is devolved to the crown, and his perſon will ſoon be in your power."

Don Juan was ſon to Theodoſius Duke of Braganza, grandchild to Donna Catharina, who was the daughter of Don Duarte, brother to Henry King of Portugal; and Philip II. King of Spain took away the crown from this Catharine, to whom it is ſaid it did rightly belong.

The titles he aſſumes, are, King of Portugal, of Algarves, Afric on both ſides of the ſea, Lord of Guiney, of the navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, and the Indies.

This new king is not above thirty-ſeven years old, of a middle ſtature, but well proportioned; his face marked with the ſmall-pox, his hair inclining to yellow, an aquiline noſe, high forehead, lively eyes, his mouth indifferent great, and a maſculine voice. His carriage is grave, affects great modeſty in his clothes, is temperate in his diet, affable to all ſorts of people, unleſs ſlaves and ſuch as he believes are hypocrites; and his common word is, "That mean clothes will keep out the cold, and ordinary meats ſatisfy hunger."

This prince is not much verſed in books, is of an healthful conſtitution, loves laborious exerciſes, eſpecially hunting, wherein he is never tired. He is alſo muſically given, and ſo light of heel, that there are few people can outwalk him. He is wont to go to bed late and riſe early, as knowing that ſleep does take off much from man's life; and to complete his happineſs, he has chil-

dren of both ſexes. His wife is a Spaniſh lady of extraordinary merit, to whoſe marvellous courage and good qualities he owes his crown.

The kingdom of Portugal contains one hundred and twenty leagues in length, forty in breadth, and has ſeveral millions of ſubjects, comprehending thoſe in the two Indies. It has three archbiſhopries, and eight biſhopries, keeping ordinarily forty veſſels, which find ports in eight places of the country. They can maintain thirty thouſand foot, and ſeveral regiments of horſe. The revenue of this kingdom may amount to twenty millions of gold, reckoning in the riches which come from the Indies, Braſil, Angola, and ſeveral other iſlands.

The French monarch will hold a good intelligence with the Houſe of Braganza; England will enter into an alliance with her; the pope will concern himſelf on neither ſide; the emperor, united by blood and intereſt to the Spaniards, will be an irreconcileable enemy, but unable to do them any hurt; and the ſtates of Holland will find greater advantage than all others in this ſtrange revolution. Theſe are the ſentiments of thoſe that pretend to penetrate into the future, and to know more than others. And if it be true that this new ſovereign has had, as all men in his place would have had, a ſecret deſire of being king, he has ſo well concealed his ambition, that it is to be ſuppoſed he will prove a moſt judicious prince, that will uphold his authority more by his wiſdom and prudence than by force. The juſt God cut ſhort the courſe of his ill deſigns, ſhould he have the courage and deſire of revenging one day the death of his predeceſſor Don Sebaſtian, on the faithful muſſulmans of Africk.

Thou wilt find, invincible Vifier, the faithful and reſpectful Mahmut always ready to execute the orders

which thou ſhalt ſend him for the emperor's ſervice; and ready to obey the leaſt ſigns of thy victorious hand to death, whether natural or violent.

Paris, 15th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1642.

XXVI.—*To* Enguruli Emir Mehemet Chelr, *a Man of the Law.*

Tell me this once, whether thou beeſt alive and at liberty; and whether thou doſt really love me, or only pretend it. My friends return no anſwers to my letters, which makes me ſtrangely ignorant of all things; I know only by conjecture that which is never ſo little doubtful; and that which is certain cannot be known here truly as it falls out, as being related according to people's paſſions and intereſts. There is no body dares write to me freely what he thinks; and there are few that will inform me of what is come to their knowledge, leſt their letters ſhould be intercepted.

I know very well we have a new maſter, but I know not whether he be thought a more able prince than Amurath, and has the ſame courage and fancy for war. The Chians that lately arrived in this court of France is very reſerved to me, and makes a myſtery of every thing.

Amurath is dead: Thoſe who ſay he was cruel, yet declare him to be the moſt dexterous, valiant, and completeſt man in his empire. The Chriſtians are fools, who will not hence gather, that our monarchs moſt certain maxim to reign with authority and perfect ſecurity is, "To make themſelves be feared, and not to be ſhy of ſpilling the blood of thoſe who ſerve them ill, who are ſuſpected by them, or may prove troubleſome to them." Thoſe troops of mutes which abide always in the ſera-

glio, ready to obey the leaſt ſign of thoſe who give them orders, maintain, increaſe, and render formidable the Ottoman power; for the empire would never be at peace, but in continual trouble, ſhould all the ſons and nephews of our ſultans be ſuffered to live; and we ſhould have a whole nation of princes, who would be always a-biting and tearing, and ruining one another by civil wars, as is often ſeen to happen among the Chriſtians. Whence this certain maxim is practiſed, "That it is better it ſhould coſt innocent perſons their lives, than not to deſtroy thoſe who may be faulty."

Indeed, I muſt confeſs, I knew not that Amurath himſelf killed with his own hands his own ſiſter. Thou that knoweſt the ſecret of this tragedy canſt tell, whether he was tranſported to that exceſs, becauſe ſhe anſwered with great haughtineſs to the ſultaneſs her mother, who reprehended her on ſome ſecret love ſhe entertained. If this be the caſe ſhe died not innocent, and I have a great curioſity to know the particulars of it.

But do not relate to me the unhappy end of his two brothers, Bajazet and Orcan, leſt thou make an old wound bleed afreſh. Poor princes, what crime have they committed, if their brother reigns? Cruel king! How great was thy inhumanity, ſeeing they obeyed without murmuring.

But Amurath was a dreadful lover, who tamed his paſſions with a poniard; he ſtabbed the moſt beautiful of his ſultaneſſes; and for what reaſon? The Chriſtians pardon him the blood of his brethren which he ſpilt, of his ſiſter, and of the brave Facardin, ſeveral viſiers, of his friends, and ſo many brave commanders, and illuſtrious perſons, but they will not pardon him the death of a miſtreſs; for they cannot conceive how a prince, a muſſulman, can play the hangman in ſuch a delicious place,

where he has nothing to do but to think of giving his love agreeable marks of his paſſion. But you will tell me, perhaps, ſhe was ſo bold as to wear in his ſight, flowers and perfumes which came from his brother: It is certainly a great crime not to obey thoſe who have all power to command us; but it is a greater crime to lay on commands, to have an occaſion for cruelty. They ſay, a man which does ſuch an action is a monſter, but I do not ſay ſo.

Inform me what the new Sultan Ibrahim does, of his humour and inclination. It appears he is ſtill infirm, and ſtupified with his long impriſonment. What alterations has his entrance into the empire produced? Will he be ſanguinary as his brother was, or gracious and merciful?

Speak to me once, my dear friend, with all freedom, void of diſguiſe; is he amorouſly inclined? I much value ſuch princes, for they are generally mild; and this paſſion ſoftens them, how cruel ſoever they may be, makes them liberal, and ſtrangers to covetouſneſs, that cruel monſter, which clouds and ſullies the brighteſt virtues.—How many perſons are employed to chooſe fine women for the ſeraglio, to contribute to Ibrahim's pleaſure? Happy will the handſomeſt women of Aſia be. But the eyes of this monarch will be made like other men's, which are not always allured with the greateſt beauties. Hence it is that we have ſeen in our emperor's ſeraglio, ladies which ſurpaſſed in charms all others, and yet died virgins, and neglected by them to whoſe pleaſures they were conſecrated.

The Chiaus has only informed me, that Ibrahim appears often on horſeback in the city, and ſeems a juſt and merciful prince, and deſigns to make the ſhepherd Haſſein, prime viſier; he that was ſo long the compa-

sion of his prison. It is said he often made it his employment to divert Ibrahim in his confinement, by playing on his pipe, and making him discourses without art, and extreme innocent, of what he did when he kept sheep. He told me also, that he often went for his diversion on the Black Sea, to take the air, and enjoy that liberty of which he was so long deprived; that he is also much delighted with the reading of Greek books, especially Xenophon and Plutarch; that he is very devout, though not superstitious, according to the humour of the devotees of our law, who will have our sovereigns be implacable enemies to the Christians. If this be necessary to salvation, to persecute a religion contrary to ours, what will become of all those who are dead, and never did it? I am of opinion, "That true holiness consists in doing good, and living in charity with all men."

The infidels with whom I live at present, for the emperor's service, whose subject I am, do glory in their strict observance of this precept, which is in their religion, and they are happy if they keep it. But tell me, dost thou think our emperor is not like to have children, as is already reported, and that he cannot live long. They are not only the idle people that talk at this rate, but those whose interest obliges them to know who is to be the successor; and many of the solidest think it will be the King of the Tartars, and that those of the race of Mula Honkair will be excluded.

This race is really illustrious, but every body knows not the rise of it. The head of this family descends from Tamerlane; thou knowest the rest, and I will not dispute with thee about genealogies.

Whatever passes here below is so uncertain, that thou mayest accuse me of imprudence in discoursing of things at this distance; for, in effect, Ibrahim may be a father

by this time. Pray to God, who diſpoſes of thrones, makes races endure, or decay; merit from him, by faſtings and prayers, and beg of him, that he would give me the grace to live blameleſs, and die innocent; that I may enter with thee into heaven, and there enjoy thoſe unſpeakable good things which are reſerved for the faithful.

Love me, though diſtant from thee; and let me have tokens of thy friendſhip, by ſtealing ſome moments of leiſure from thy ordinary buſineſs to write to me.

Paris, 25th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1641.

BOOK IV.

LETTER I.—*To the Venerable* MUFTI, *Prince of the Religion of the Muſſulmans.*

THERE is now found in one man alone, whatever ſeveral perſons of great ingenuity could acquire by long experience; and this man is Cardinal de Richlieu, to whoſe reputation thou art no ſtranger. He was deſigned, like thee, for the affairs of his church, and dedicated to religion; but he is not ſo much employed about them, but that he applies himſelf with as great care to the affairs of the world; and it is he, who under the authority of the king his maſter, governs the affairs of the French. I obey thee, venerable mufti; thou haſt enjoined me to inform thee of the particular actions of this famous prelate: But I ſhall not ſay much of him, it being impoſſible to fathom him. He is the moſt dexterous and ſubtle

politician that lives in all the countries of the unbelievers. The famous Greek Lyſander was never ſo cunning; neither did Tiberius ſhow half ſo much diſſimulation at Rome, nor judgment in affairs, as he; no not in the time when he ſet himſelf to remove his rivals, and take away all obſtacles which might hinder his obtaining the empire. He interprets all the doubts which ariſe in his religion; he is the arbiter of rewards and puniſhments, and the king, who knows his zeal and ability, leaves to him the direction of his kingdom and people, which he governs and leads as Jacob led the flocks of Laban. This cardinal wants only the art which this great patriarch had, to make men be born as he pleaſes, as this holy Iſraelite made the ſheep.

There came ſome days ſince a perſon from Germany, who went immediately to the palace of this miniſter, and ſent him word by his captain of the guards, that the letter B was come. The officer was unwilling to deliver this kind of meſſage to his maſter, and therefore deſired the German to explain this riddle; but he only told him laughing, that the cardinal's alphabet was like the famous knife of Delph, which ſerved to all purpoſes; ſo that he need only mention the arrival of the letter B, and he would be underſtood; which was no ſooner done, but this German was privately introduced into this miniſter's cloſet, where he had a long conference; but I could never hear the ſubject of it.

He that by his word created all things, increaſe thy health; and make thy authority ever adored and feared, even in Rome itſelf.

Paris, 25th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1641.

II.—*To the* Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

I come but now from learning an adventure, which yet happened ſome days ſince; but all things are carried on with ſuch ſecrecy in France, that it is almoſt impoſſible to know any thing before it is made public.

There was apprehended here, in the laſt moon of January, certain ruffians, in the habit of hermits, who were to aſſaſſinate Cardinal Richlieu.

Theſe wretches confeſſed before the judges, as ſoon as they were put on the rack, their intention of killing the king's favourite, becauſe he was no friend to the Duke de Vendoſme, who is natural ſon to the deceaſed King Henry the Great. This adventure has greatly ſurpriſed the court; each man ſpeaking of it according as his intereſt or affection inclines him. The Duke of Vendoſme's friends have declared themſelves againſt the cardinal; and this miniſter's creatures have much aggravated this attempt, to render this prince's family more odious, and heighten the cardinal's reputation. But the Duke de Mercœur, the Duke of Vendoſme's ſon, rode immediately to Paris with the Duke de Beaufort, his brother; the firſt *incognito*, to conſult his friends, and the other to preſent himſelf to the cardinal, to obtain that their father might juſtify himſelf before the king, from the accuſation laid againſt him.

The grandchild of Henry the Great has ſince deſired to be confronted with the hermits, and has obtained it; but his departure at the ſame time into England has wrought much amazement.

Some ſay he has taken an unwiſe courſe, and others ſay no; becauſe he could not prudently expoſe himſelf to the teſtimony of ſuch wretches, who would not matter what they ſaid.

However, these hermits were publicly executed, and their accomplices are not yet discovered; neither is it yet known whether any persons of quality have had a part in the conspiracy; which is not the first that has been carried on against this favourite; and it is believed will not be the last. He has a great many enemies; and the absolute authority with which he governs, by the favour of his prince, will always raise him such adversaries as will either ruin his fortune, or take away his life.

If I write not oftener to thee, thou oughtest not to think my affection ever the less. Set down in thy register what I inform thee. Let me have thy friendship and protection in things which are just, and change not thy opinion of me till I am changed myself.

Paris, 15th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1641.

III.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

JULIUS MAZARINI, a man about forty-five years of age, of a solid judgment, and incredible perspicuity, of whose family I know no more but that he is originally from Sicily, and born in Italy, in the chief city of it, Rome, is lately introduced into this court. He has by his ingenious carriage gained the favour and confidence of Cardinal Richlieu; and he begins already to be employed in the most important business. Those who make reflections on the affairs of the world, and carefully examine the extraordinary talents of this Italian, are persuaded one may expect great things from him; yet, however, the best way is not to be hasty in judging of the good or bad qualities of a man. He has already been employed in quality of plenipotentiary of the King of France in Piedmont, to negotiate an accommodation

between all the princes of the Houſe of Savoy; and he has laboured ſo fortunately, that every body is aſtoniſhed that his firſt undertakings ſhould meet with ſuch happy ſucceſs; eſpecially conſidering the hatreds and pretenſions between the Dutcheſs of Savoy and her brothers-in-law. Thou mayeſt remember that I wrote to thee that the differences of this family were like to laſt, and unlikely to be determined without great bloodſhed, both of the French and Spaniards. But Mazarini, who is a moſt expert courtier, and dexterous agitant, has ended this affair much to his maſter's honour, to the ſatisfaction of the parties intereſted, and the cardinal, who procured him this commiſſion. He eſtabliſhed the peace in Piedmont, and an union betwixt the parties, by bringing over to the French intereſt two men who were enemies to it, who were, Prince Thomas, a captain of great reputation, and the Cardinal of Savoy, his brother, a perſon of a conſummate policy, and an excellent ſoldier, though a churchman.

It is mentioned in the treaty, that theſe two princes ſhall be received into the King of France's protection; that if the young duke dies without children, and the cardinal marries, his children ſhall be the heirs of the eſtate of Savoy; and in defect of thoſe Prince Thomas's.

It is moreover declared in the ſame treaty, that the King of Spain ſhall be fought to, touching the liberty of the wife and children of Prince Thomas, who are detained priſoners at Madrid; and he ſhall be alſo ſolicited to ſurrender the places he holds belonging to the Duke of Savoy; and in caſe the Catholic king ſhall not reſtore them, and ſet at liberty the wife and children of this prince, he ſhall be obliged to ſerve againſt the ſaid king in the army of France. It is moreover inſerted among theſe articles, that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall

procure a marriage to be made between one of the children of the ſaid prince, with the Duke of Longueville's daughter, who is a rich heireſs; and that France ſhould never make any treaty with Spain, without comprehending the liberty of the princeſs, and the aforeſaid princes.

Prince Thomas is now expected here; and it is ſaid he will command the army of France in Italy againſt the Spaniards, it being certain they will never reſtore what they have once taken, neither will they ſet their priſoners at liberty.

The king entertaining himſelf ſome days paſt with the ambaſſador of a foreign prince, ſaid to him theſe words: "When the Spaniards ſhall reſtore to the Duke of Savoy the places they keep from him, I ſhall willingly diſcharge myſelf of the burden of the government of thoſe I keep." And the cardinal has publicly expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe: "That his maſter's deſign was only to humble the pride of the houſe of Auſtria, and reduce it to ſuch a condition, as that its neighbours might have no ſuch great cauſe of fear from them; ſeeing the leaſt motion of theirs raiſed alarms among them. That his endeavours were not laid out in aggrandizing the dominion of France, ſeeing the bounds of it were large enough already; his intentions being only to give his ſovereign the laſt proof of his zeal and affection, by leaving the kingdom in a profound peace, which might make his majeſty beloved of his neighbours, and feared by thoſe who are jealous of his greatneſs and power; he being hereby the arbiter of Europe, and reigning more abſolutely by this means, than if all their eſtates belonged to him." What I have written to thee, happened ſome time ſince; but what I am now to inform thee of, is quite new.

We have an account, that the princes of Savoy have

not kept their word with the King, Cardinal Richlieu, and Mazarini; and deſigns are now taking in hand to puniſh ſo great an affront; and theſe are buſied in thoughts of revenging a widow princeſs, who has been ſo long forced to behold bloody tragedies in her houſe, by the wars which the princes of the blood make continually; wherein ſtrangers do intereſt themſelves, who ruin the eſtates, and keep them up in perpetual diſcord.

This buſineſs will cauſe new troubles in Italy, and thou ſhalt therefore not fail of intelligence of the particulars. However, the princes of Savoy are blamed by all the world, and charged with want of ſincerity. But this being almoſt a rule amongſt the Chriſtians, "to obſerve their word no longer than they find their advantage in it;" thou needeſt not therefore much wonder at what theſe princes have done: Whereby thou wilt know, that a mean intereſt being the motive that ſets them at work, and which is all their reaſon of ſtate; he that will one day equally judge all the world, and can overturn all the univerſe in leſs time than he created it, will deſtroy the little powers of theſe weak politicians, who acknowledge the law of the Nazarite, to the immortal glory of the venerable and holy name of the faithful muſſulmans.

Paris, 25th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1641.

IV.—To Dgnet Oglou.

I must forget myſelf, if I forget thee; but thinking often on myſelf, I cannot forget thee; becauſe thou art my ſecond ſelf. Be perſuaded, I ſpeak my heart, and that I have no other deſign but that of loving thee, that thou mayeſt anſwer me with the ſame affection; for I deſire thy happineſs as I do my own.

I am endeavouring to procure thee the confidence of the invincible Vifier Azem, without his perceiving my deſign; and this is the beſt manner I could deviſe of doing it. Thou ſhalt pretend to receive from ſome friend, which thou ſhalt leave at Palermo, the memoirs which I ſend thee with this letter; and it will not be difficult to make it be believed, thou holdeſt a correſpondence in this town of Sicily, conſidering the time we have lived there together during our ſlavery.

The auguſt vifier, who rules and governs the empire under the orders of the moſt mighty and dreadful potentate of the earth, will receive by this ordinary, an ample information of extraordinary events which have happened in Portugal; and I have alſo informed him of the ſtrange revolutions of Catalonia, which do much weaken the ſtrength of Spain, and notably mortify the pride of this haughty nation. I have made known to him, that Portugal has already made choice of a king, and that Catalonia is departing from her allegiance. But I have given him no account of the choice memoirs which I ſend thee; with which thou mayeſt make advantage, if thereby thou canſt find the way of introducing thyſelf to the Grand Vifier.

Thou mayeſt then ſay to this great miniſter, that thou haſt received the memoirs thou preſenteſt him with, and aſſure him thou haſt tranſlated them out of the Italian into Arabic; and thou muſt tranſcribe them with thine own hand, that they may not appear to have come from me.

The King of Spain, Philip II. died of a ſhameful diſeaſe, which happens only to baſe people, which appeared a chaſtiſement from heaven, for having, like David, numbered the people which dwell in the countries ſubject to him, to make known to all nations the greatneſs of his power.

It is certain this monarch reckoned as far as 750 cities erected into biſhopries; therein comprehending 60 archbiſhopries: That he had abbies 11400, chapters 9230, as many collegiate cathedrals; pariſh churches 127,000, hoſpitals 4000, confraternities 23000, congregations of ſeculars 2300, houſes of entertainment for pilgrims 3000, 46000 convents of religious people, and of virgins 13500; with 15200 chapels wherein maſs is ſaid, as well in public churches, as particular houſes and priſons.

And after an exact ſearch, this king found, that to ſerve ſo great a number of churches, monaſteries, convents, hoſpitals, and chapels, there were 12900 religious, monks, prieſts or clerks, amongſt whom there might be found 12400 prieſts, which celebrate what the Chriſtians call the maſs. And to maintain ſo many people, it was computed that the revenue for this amounted to 3,000,000 of Roman crowns, without reckoning the alms which were diſtributed every day, which amount to the ſum of 4,000,000 of gold.

The curioſity of this prince went farther; he would know the number of all his royal officers, governors of provinces, towns, caſtles, and citadels; and, in fine, of all officers, as well of ſea as land, judges, juſticiaries of all kinds, and of all thoſe who had patents from him or his viceroys; and he found they were 83000 who were employed under letters ſealed with his hand, and 360,000 who had them ſigned under his principal miniſters.

He would not know the number of perſons that lived in his ſtates, leſt he ſhould become too proud, and to prevent his fall, ſaid he, into the ſin of David; which he yet could not avoid in his own perſon, as I have already ſaid, God having ſpared his ſubjects, who had otherwiſe ſufficiently ſuffered.

One may now ſay, that this puiſſant monarchy begins

to be diſmembered by the loſs of ſo many provinces, kingdoms, and places; and that Philip II. knew not the full extent of his power; Philip III. knew not the greatneſs of his forces, nor the riches which he poſſeſſes, becauſe his miniſters governed him; and Philip IV. not ſeeing when he might ſee, could not ſee at laſt when he would.

I think I have ſaid enough to thee to be underſtood. Do now what thou canſt, to make thyſelf underſtood by perſons to whom theſe advices may be agreeable or profitable; and if thou believeſt, the knowledge of theſe things may be acceptable to the invincible viſier, who is one of the lights of the world, endeavour to procure the favour of this great man, who governs all the faithful, and to whom the Divine Alcoran ſerves for a law. I embrace thee, and cordially kiſs thee with the lips of my ſoul, if a man may ſo expreſs himſelf. Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1641.

V.—*To the Invincible* Viſier Azem.

The poſts which came ſome few days paſt here, have brought ill news. One of the king's armies has been defeated by an army compoſed of foreigners; at the head of whom was a prince of France, and ſeveral malcontent lords who followed him. This loſs has much afflicted the court, and Paris ſeems to be thunderſtruck. The people diſcourſe and argue hereupon according to their different humours, moſt making the loſs greater than it was. But thoſe who have loſt their kinsfolk threaten revenge; and only thoſe that have heard of the death of their friends are ſilent, becauſe their grief is above expreſſion. But all in general appear in ſuch a conſternation, as would

make a man imagine this ſtroke is irreparable; ſo true it is, that loſſes are inſufferable to thoſe that are not accuſtomed to loſe.

One would think, to hear the French talk, that the Spaniards are already at the walls of Paris, and that theſe rebellious princes are ready to give an aſſault to this great town. They have retired into a place which they ſay is impregnable, and which belongs to a French lord, which place is called Sedan, and it is not far thence where this bloody battle was fought, wherein the king's party were worſted; but the malcontents are much afflicted at the loſs of their general, who was killed in the heat of the fight. Some ſay he died by treachery; others by the enemy; and there are who affirm, that Cardinal Richlieu got rid of him by means of an aſſaſſin, whom he entertained in his troops: Others alſo ſay he killed himſelf, by lifting up the vizor of his helmet with his piſtol, which diſcharged itſelf: However, there is dead in the perſon of this prince, a prince of great valour.

I ſhall make thee a recital of this adventure; I ſhall learn thee the motives of this war; inform thee who were the malcontents, and their qualities; and, in fine, by what cabals this tempeſt is raiſed; that thou mayeſt know, great and principal prop of the Ottoman empire, that ambition and jealouſy cauſe diſorders in France, as well as in other countries.

Lewis de Bourbon, Count de Soiſſons, was a prince of the blood; he had ſuch a fierceneſs in his youth, as drove away all from him, who once came near him; but having got over this humour, which diſobliged every body, he became popular, and ſo courteous, that he was now followed as much as he was ſhunned before. He uſed the nobility as became their quality; had acquired the friendſhip of other princes, and thoſe of inferior rank

could not enough admire him. He was adored by the ſoldiery, beloved and eſteemed by the people; and he had, in a word, ſo behaved himſelf, that he had gotten the general applauſe.

Cardinal Richlieu has a niece named Madam de Combalet, who having been married to a gentleman, aſpired to an higher match, ſeeing all things to give place, and humble themſelves before her uncle.

The cardinal deſigned by the marriage of this niece, to procure himſelf ſuch a puiſſant prop, that nothing ſhould be able to overthrow his fortune, or oppoſe his authority; he pretended alſo, his life would be more in ſafety; and that ſuch an alliance, with thoſe he already had, would put him out of a capacity of being ever attacked by any enemies, ſecret or declared, whoſe number increaſed as faſt as his authority.

Several affirm, this prieſt had ambition enough to give an heir, who might one day aſcend the throne; when it appeared by the queen's barrenneſs, the king could have no child to ſucceed him.

But the ſtate of affairs being changed, he took other meaſures; and thinking of having the count in his alliance, he cauſed the propoſals of this marriage of his niece to be offered the prince, by one of his moſt intimate confidants, who offered him at the ſame time conſiderable ſums of money, and dignities, to make him heir of all his vaſt eſtates, and to procure him the greateſt office in the kingdom, which is that of conſtable.

The Count of Soiſſon's anſwer to him that made the propoſal, was a box on the ear; being in an extreme paſſion at any one's daring to offer him a match ſo greatly beneath him, when Madam de Combalet was the widow of a gentleman of mean condition, and niece to a

cardinal whom he hated, and himſelf a prince of the blood.

The cardinal's meſſenger, deſirous his negotiation ſhould ſucceed, was not repelled by this affront. He inſiſted on the virtue of the cardinal's niece, ſaying, ſhe would be courted by the greateſt in France; and added farther in commendation of this lady, that ſhe was a virgin, although married, becauſe her huſband, out of reſpect, dared not approach her; and that heaven has ſo ordered it, that this adventure ſhould be found written in the anagram of her name.

This miniſter could not diſſemble his vexation at the refuſal; his choler became exceſſive, and he reſolved to practiſe his uſual maxim, "of violently perſecuting thoſe whoſe friendſhip he had ſought with moſt eagerneſs." He therefore wholly ſet himſelf againſt this prince, ſpake all the ill he could of him, publicly threatened his enemy; but he valued him not, looking on the cardinal as beneath his notice.

In the mean time, the cardinal plotted to put his threats into execution, and brought the king in, to countenance him by his authority; which obliged the count to abſent himſelf and make a voyage into Italy, to avoid the ſtorm he was threatened with. Yet his voyage laſted not long, and at his return the cardinal did all he could now to win him; he procured him ſuitable employs in the armies, and made him at length be declared general of that which the king ſent on the frontiers of Picardy. Yet this haughty prince received all with indifference, ſaying openly, that a captain was given to the army, and not an army to a captain.

The grandees of the court who obſerved afar off what paſſed in this intrigue, inſtead of mollifying the count's humour, did all they could to ſharpen it. The Duke of

Orleans, the king's brother, who was always this minister's enemy, linked himself with Soissons; exhorting him not to yield to the cardinal's pursuits; and it is said he drew a promise from him under his hand, that he would never accept of the marriage proposed; and they afterwards swore fidelity to one another, and that they would join together for the destruction of the common enemy; and for this effect they took measures with Prince Thomas, of the House of Savoy, who is at present general of the Spanish army in Flanders: They also brought the Duke de Valette, and several lords of the kingdom, into their party. Almost all the conspirators were for killing the cardinal, and the time of the stroke should be when he visited the quarters of the army which besieged Corbie; but the count alone would not consent to dip his hands in the blood of a priest.

But the Duke de Valette, who saw the danger wherein he was when the conspiracy came to be discovered, resolved to shelter himself by the blackest treachery that could be imagined: He discovered to the cardinal all the accomplices; of which the Count de Soissons having notice, he speedily withdrew to Sedan. I shall not make thee (invincible leader) a description of this place, which regards on one side Luxemburg, and on the other France, it not lying in my way to make draughts of fortifications like an engineer, but to give thee a full account of what the infidels do, and discover their designs, whereby thou mayest gather what may make for the advantage of our great monarch, whose power cannot be shaken, but by the entire overthrow of the universe.

Sedan is a dominion which formerly belonged to the Dukes of Cleves, who were sovereigns of it, and at the same time Dukes de Bouillon. When the count was in this place he thought himself safe; the Mareschal de

Bouillon, who was the maſter of it, by the teſtament of the laſt of this family, declared himſelf of his party, either to make war together againſt the cardinal by open force, or drive him out of this kingdom, or to get rid of him by death. Here it was they made their ſecret treaties with thoſe who commanded for the Spaniards in the Low Countries; and a prince of the Houſe of Lorrain entered into their cabal. He bears the cardinal as much ill will, and appears as reſolute as the reſt for his deſtruction: He is called the Duke of Guiſe.

There wanted only to this party the Duke of Orleans, the king's only brother; and therefore the Duke of Guiſe diſpatched a meſſenger to him, who ſold in one day both his maſter and all the reſt that were of the conſpiracy. He diſcovered all the ſecrets of the cabal; and, the better to carry on his deceit, he cauſed himſelf to be apprehended and thrown into priſon, having given his diſpatches to the king's brother, which he had before ſhowed the cardinal. This traitor was not contented with revealing theſe gentlemen's ſecrets who had ſent him; but alſo made it appear that the prince, the king's brother, was guilty as an accomplice of the others rebellion. Thus theſe great men, grown deſperate at the diſcovery of their projects, which were indeed contrary to their ſovereign's intereſts, and the kingdom's, were forced to throw themſelves into the arms of the Spaniards, and to join with them.

They have raiſed troops amongſt their vaſſals and friends, and openly declared themſelves; and fought with great valour, as I have already mentioned in the beginning of my letter. The king's army has been very ill handled, and it appears that the advantage was wholly on the confederates ſide; but it has coſt the Count of Soiſſons his life, who was general and chief of the party;

and it is at preſent diſputed to whom is due the honour of the victory.

I proſtrate myſelf continually at thy feet, to kiſs, with all humility, the duſt of them, aſſuring thee thou haſt in me a moſt faithful ſlave, that will never change.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1641.

VI.—*To* SOLYMAN, *his Couſin, at Conſtantinople.*

PONTIUS PILATE was an honeſter man than thou. He, although a pagan, excuſed himſelf of the falſe ſentence he ſhould pronounce on the Chriſtians Meſſias, by waſhing his hands before the Jews who ſought his death; and thou that art a Mahometan, as I am, and waſheſt thy whole body in the baths at Conſtantinople, in the preſence of our friends, accuſeſt and condemneſt me raſhly without any ſcruple. Thou uſeſt me like a rogue, ſo maliciouſly art thou ſet againſt me, who am of the ſame religion which thou profeſſeſt. How canſt thou juſtify the hatred thou beareſt me, in endeavouring to make the Kaimacham believe I have been corrupted by the cardinal, who is the King of France's chief miniſter? Adding, that he ought no more to heed my letters and relations ſent to the Sublime Porte (where lie proſtrate all the powers of the world), as not written by an Arabian, but by a ſacrilegious heretic; that I deceive the mufti, ſo venerable for the authority which he has in ſuch an holy religion, of which he is the worthy head; and that I amuſe him by my letters, the better to conceal my change, ſeeing I adore in my heart, and publicly profeſs, an entire ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the Roman prelate.

The quality of thy couſin, which I have whether I will or no, is ſo far from withholding thee, that it is

made uſe of to carry on thy pernicious deſigns. O, unworthy kinſman! infamous hypocrite! Thou wilt diſcredit me, and break off the courſe of my employment, becauſe I ſerve effectually the greateſt prince of the univerſe. Thou approvedſt not only my conduct when I began my endeavours, under the orders of the miniſters of the Divan; but thou applaudedſt me, gave me praiſes: And now, when all the miniſters are ſatisfied with me, and approved of my behaviour, and gave me their commendations, thou art the only man who thinkeſt it fitting to traverſe me, to obſcure my reputation, and blacken my actions. Is this the fruit of thy ſtudies with Hippo at Athens, to whom thou oweſt thy knowledge of Greek authors, which thou ſo greatly braggeſt of? Anſwer me, unjuſt couſin, What is thy deſign of having me called away by thy baſe defamations? When did I offend thee, and wherein, I pray? But thy artifices, how great and malicious ſoever they be, will not prevail over the ſincerity of my heart; and as I ſhall always exactly perform my duty, ſo I fear not the loſs of my prince's favour; he will approve of what I do, and thou wilt die with envy and deſpite.

I needed not have been miſtaken; I might have ſeen the falſeneſs of thine heart by thy countenance. Thou art an Heraclitus, always melancholy, and out of humour, that cannot rejoice, ſhould Heaven favour our invincible monarch's projects. Thou art a falſe Zeno, who, under the affected appearance of a Stoic, concealeſt a Cynical heart, whoſe critical humour is always biting on the actions of others. Nature has covered thy face with ſadneſs, mixed with a deadly paleneſs, becauſe thou art always buſied about ſome doleful matter. In like manner it appears, that Pythagoras has inſtructed thee to ſpeak little, as knowing thou art not fit to ſay or do any

thing but what is hurtful. I know not what is become of Iſouf, having no account of him. I am afraid thou haſt corrupted this my kinſman, that I might have no ally or faithful friend. Thou haſt not failed to inſtruct him well, having given him ſo good an example; and he has, without doubt, been ſo ungrateful as to imitate thee. He is returned from Mecca, and makes me no anſwer, giving me no account whether he has made the offering for me on the mountain, whether he has ſacrificed the ſheep, whether he has diſtributed the alms I enjoined him, and whether he will ſend me, as I entreated him, a ſmall piece of the old hangings of the ſacred moſque. But I will not concern myſelf ſo much at what others do, my intention being to complain only of thee, becauſe others offences are not comparable to thine, thou having not left one ſtone unturned to ruin me.

Continue then in thine ill nature: I write only to acquaint thee, that I am not ignorant of whatever thou haſt done againſt me. There is nobody but old Baba thine uncle who can work a change in thee: Go to him; be not aſhamed to ſee a man who is employed in the meaneſt works to have more judgment than thee: Show him the infirmities of thy ſoul; or, to ſpeak better, confeſs to him all the ill things thou haſt done, if thou haſt any intention of becoming an honeſt man. Although he be but a carpenter, he knows better than thee to form the mind; he can teach thee how to poliſh and ſquare thy ſoul as he poliſhes a piece of oak, though never ſo hard and knotty.

He is perfectly inſtructed in the law; he is brought up in the principles of religion; he will guide thee, if thou wilt ſuffer him, in the way which leads to perfection; he will not permit thee to lie; he will put thee on making reſtitution to thoſe whoſe good name thou haſt

unjuſtly taken; and he will comfort thee, if thou beeſt really ſorrowful for the ill thou haſt done, and if thou ſhoweſt any regret at thy former purpoſes of deſtroying a kinſman that loved thee, and ſtill wiſhes thee all kinds of happineſs, if thou repenteſt of thy unjuſt perſecutions, and if, of a bad couſin, which thou haſt been, thou wilt become a ſincere and hearty friend.

Paris, 20th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1641.

VII.—*To* Donet Oglou.

I say not that thoſe are fools who are in love, but muſt needs think that thoſe who believe lightly, are not over-laden with diſcretion. It is hard for a man always to keep himſelf from falling into a paſſion; but it is not ſo hard for a man to keep himſelf from believing things with too great facility, and from being caught with falſehoods, which are the moſt conſtant attendants of women.

Thou haſt ſpoke the truth to me, in ſending me the balm and aloes I wrote for; and I ſhall not anſwer thee with lies, in ſpeaking of Daria, who is the ſubject of the letter which I received from thee. Let me thank thee, without ſaying any thing of the preſent thou madeſt me, which is very magnificent and acceptable; and ſuffer me to complain to thee freely of the hurt which another has done me. I need not conſult my regiſter to remember whatever I wrote to thee about this Greek; my heart, which is yet full of it, reproaches me every moment for having ſaid too much to thee on that ſubject.

Never any thing appeared to me ſo deſireable as that

herb which Homer called Nepente, to cure me of the cruel diſtemper with which I am tormented. This prince of poets makes a queen of our Egypt to preſent this admirable ſimple to Helena, which has the virtue of appeaſing immediately all dolours, and makes us forget the vexations and offences offered us. But thou wilt not underſtand me, unleſs I tell thee clearly, that Daria has forgotten all the promiſes ſhe made me, as ſoon as ever ſhe was from me, not remembering in any ſort my love. It is true, ſhe wrote twice to me ſince her departure, but in ſo cold a ſtyle, that it is plainly ſeen her heart is as cold as ice to me. As ſoon as ever ſhe ſaw herſelf in the arms of her huſband, ſhe made him a ſacrifice of my paſſion; and the better to make her court to him, and perſuade him of her fidelity, ſhe delivered to him my letters. The huſband laughed in reading them, and ſaid to her, in a jeer to me, "A man then ſo deſperately in love, has only ſighed and wrote?" "He has done ſomething more (replied this diſſembling woman), having promiſed to ſend me a box of white balm of Mecca and aloes-wood, to perfume me, which yet I do not expect to receive ſoon, and perhaps never; for if Mahmut be not become a fool, he will as ſoon forget me, as I ſhall certainly forget him." "And what haſt thou promiſed this barbarian?" replied immediately the huſband. "I promiſed," replied Daria, "to ſend with my picture that of the moſt chaſte of all women; which yet I do not pretend to do without your conſent, nay, and command."

What I now inform thee, comes from a place which makes me not at all doubt the certainty of it. But having learned by what I relate, the virtue of this woman, now hear what the huſband's was; who having ſeen my picture, and commended the painter that drew it, embraced tenderly his wife, whom he reſpected as a moſt

which are to be met with in general hiſtories, which have been the method of moſt writers of late ages.

"I would alſo have Plutarch's manner followed, of comparing the illuſtrious men of one nation with thoſe of another; where the diſcreet writer having weighed the reaſons which make for the one and the other, pronounces a ſentence which does both delight and inſtruct the reader.

"The moſt important inſtruction then which can be given, being the ſecret of knowing men perfectly, who ſeek with ſo great care to hide themſelves; the true means for this is the choice of matter, that the reader may not loſe his time, nor ſtudy in vain, but gather the fruit which all men of ſenſe ſearch for, which is, to know what is good, that they may follow it, and evil, to avoid it. On this ground you will be eaſily perſuaded, there is greater pleaſure to behold the firmneſs of Scipio, who paſſes with one only galley to find out Siphax, than there is in conſidering him when he gives battle to Hannibal in the plains of Rama. We are more edified in ſeeing this young general a conqueror, and yet ſo continent, as to ſend the fineſt woman in the world, who was his priſoner, to Lucius the Spaniſh prince, her huſband, without touching her, than in the relation of an hundred ſieges of places, where the effects which the ſoldiers fury produces hunger and thirſt, and the effuſion of human blood yields horror inſtead of diverſion. In like manner, Sir, you will acknowledge, that a prince or captain will be more inſtructed by ſeeing Francis, who lived like a king, though in priſon at Madrid, who careſſes and recompences learned men all the world over; and in ſeeing Fabricius, who refuſes and deſpiſes the greateſt honours which are offered him, with immenſe riches, and who ſnatches away the poiſon from the mouth of the greateſt enemy of the Roman people, than all the com-

bats and moſt bloody battles fought by Pyrrhus, Charles V. and the great Tamerlane.

"I have made you this long diſcourſe as a mark of my obedience; and Titus of Moldavia, at the feet of your eminency, ſupplicates you to conſider, that when by your negotiations, counſels and armies which receive your orders, you ſhall have added new kingdoms to that which your maſter holds; when, for the benefit of trade and navigation, you ſhall have joined all the ſeas together; and when, in a word, you ſhall raiſe bridges in Paris, pyramids with more palaces than were built by the Cæſars, and all the kings of Egypt; theſe piles will not be immortal, but ſubject to the injuries of time: Whereas, on the contrary, if you ſend for the twelve architects which I mentioned, to raiſe the ſtately palace aforecited, all the world will bleſs the name of Armand Cardinal de Richlieu, reſtorer of the republic of learning almoſt ruined; and who, like another Archimedes, hath known by the examples of the virtue of illuſtrious men, ſnatched away by death out of the world, to combat and deſtroy the vices and ignorances of the living."

If thou approveſt not, magnanimous Viſier, what I offered to the King of France's miniſter, puniſh me not for a fault which was not deſigned, having, on the contrary, imagined to do thee a very agreeable piece of ſervice. I thought I could not take a better courſe to conceal thy ſlave Mahmut, and to divert this cardinal from ſome projects, which I am informed he deſigns againſt the Turkiſh empire. Should he undertake the great work I ſet before him, thou ſeeſt the ſultans will have ſome ſhare in it; and he will, I ſay again, have by this means, not to mention any thing elſe, his hands ſo full of buſineſs, that he will not have the leaſt time or ability to moleſt us.

defects, ſomething that is amiable, let us love them at leaſt becauſe of their uſefulneſs for continuing the ſpecies, but not for their beauty; whoſe enchantments corrupt the mind, and hinder all the excellent operations of it; for men perhaps would be angels were there no women; I mean bad ones; for good women, as well as good men, can do no hurt. Adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1641.

VIII.—*To* CARCOA *at Vienna.*

THE courier which is now arrived has brought me letters and money from thee. I ſhall receive the money upon the bill of exchange, when it is due, under the name of Titus. I am extremely obliged to thee for the care thou haſt taken in procuring it me, being in a country where good words are of no credit. I have received alſo the box, wherein is the balm and aloes ſent me by my friend Oglou, all in good condition, and come in good time. I want only to know how it is with Iſouf; for he writes no more to me. I am informed he is returned from his pilgrimage, and yet has not ſent to thee what I deſired him to bring from Mecca.

I will not complain of any body; if I do, it ſhall be of myſelf. Take care of the letters I ſend thee, and let me know whether we may hope well from the Grand Signior, and what is reported at the court where thou art, and if there be any likelihood of making war afreſh againſt the infidels.

My health is indifferent. I live here without ſuſpicion; and though Cardinal Richlieu be an Argus, he is blind as to what concerns me; for he knows nothing of my buſineſs, or feigns ſo at leaſt; neither do I do or

ſay any thing which may make me ſuſpected for an enemy.

I aſſure thee I love God, have a great reſpect for his law, and follow my buſineſs with great fidelity. If thou wilt have me do more, advertiſe thy friend of it, whom thou knoweſt; ſhow me the example, and live happily.

Paris, 22d of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1641.

IX.—*To* BERBER MUSTAPHA, *Aga at Conſtantinople.*

WE have arrived to the end of the year, which the infidels ſolemnize by bonefires, and which I mark by an extraordinary ſadneſs. I complain not, in that Time making itſelf the maſter of my heart, will ſoon begin to weaken it. I underſtand the folly of thoſe vows which are made to Heaven for the obtaining of a long life.—Thoſe that deſire it are wont to make contrary ones, when they become overwhelmed with the infirmities which attend for the moſt part old age. The occaſion of my complaints is of another nature; I am troubled at the being ſo far from my friends and country, and at my being baniſhed into an enemy's country, where I muſt live like a man that is in continual fear, among people who ſeem to matter nothing.

Thou art now above fifty years of age, and I not above two and-thirty; and yet I know thou reflecteſt not much thereupon, thinking thou haſt ſtill a long time to live. Thou art of a ſtrong conſtitution, art a lover of pleaſures, ſearching them every where without any thoughts of death, who will ſpare thee no more than others whoſe health is decayed; for "he comes, taking great ſtrides towards us all." Thou art very fortunate, I muſt needs ſay, in conſerving in a body ſo near old age, a young

man's ſpirit; which is far from my diſpoſition; for when thou art in purſuit of divertiſements, I am continually thinking of death; becauſe I believe I have lived too long.

Should the king, or cardinal, near whom I live, know this night, that Mahmut who writes to thee is one of the Grand Signior's ſpies, I ſhould loſe my life, perhaps before the next light: Yet the fear of ſuch an adventure gives me no diſquiet, having entirely ſacrificed myſelf to the maſter I ſerve, who commands all men on the earth. Should theſe barbarians put me to death, I ſhall only finiſh a little ſooner that courſe which I muſt certainly one day put an end to; and if I live, I ſhall have neither recompenſe to expect, nor pain to apprehend.

Here is much talk about the Duke of Lorrain; yet there has been more done againſt him than ſaid. The French affirm, that in ſtripping this prince of his countries, he has been very mercifully dealt with; for juſtice required more. There are, on the contrary, other people who do not believe it is poſſible to do a greater piece of injuſtice. In fine, every man ſpeaks after his manner.

It is ſaid, moreover, that this ſovereign being come again into the king's favour, who had given him a thouſand teſtimonies of good will, after what had paſſed in 1634, when this court had great reaſons to complain of his conduct, he drew down again afreſh the indignation of France upon him, by a fault which cannot be excuſed. I think this duke had concluded two treaties that year, promiſing a ſubmiſſion and eternal obedience. He had the honour to dine with the king; and having rendered him homage for the dutchy of Bar, he again threw himſelf into the arms of the Auſtrians; although he had ſworn on the goſpels (a book as much reſpected amongſt the Chriſtians, as the Alcoran is among the true faithful),

that he would never forſake the intereſts of France, what wars ſoever ſhe might find; that he would be perpetually fixed to the intereſts of that crown; and never hold any correſpondence with the Houſe of Auſtria. In conſideration of which, Lewis ſhould re-eſtabliſh this prince in his eſtates, which he was to ſurrender entirely, bating ſome places, and the capital, called Nanci, which he would retain during the war, as a pledge for the performance of what he had ſworn to; and which yet was to be given up, after the concluſion of the peace. It is added, that this ſovereign having occaſion to complain of the Spaniſh miniſters, and the grandees of this nation, who carry on the war in Flanders, he had written to the Cardinal Infant, governor of the Low Countries, a letter to this purpoſe, and very near in theſe words:

"The King of France having required me to join myſelf with my troops to his army near Sedan, I would not obey this puiſſant king, much leſs your highneſs, ſeeing the towns ſubject to the Spaniards treat me as if I were an enemy."

The ladies have had a great part in this accommodation of the Duke of Lorrain; which has had, like all the works of women, a direful event. This prince, being become amorous of a French lady, was for repudiating his lawful princeſs, to whom he owes all his eſtate; beginning to ſeparate from her, that he might give himſelf entirely to the Counteſs of Cantecroix, whom he uſed as his real wife.

Good people are ſorry for this prince's diſgrace, as believing his condition to be paſt remedy. The devout part ſay, that having been unjuſtly deprived of his eſtates, God will work miracles in his favour; conſidering no leſs than three hundred ſaints, as they ſay, have been of his family, which muſt needs reconcile him to

the favour of Heaven; amongſt which is the famous Godfrey of Bullen, who won Jeruſalem and all Paleſtine from the Saracens; whom we muſt own to have been a great man, whether we conſider his courage or zeal for his religion, which ought to make his memory famous to all ages.

I can tell thee nothing more certain on this ſubject, having endeavoured to be informed of what I write to thee to ſatisfy thy curioſity; and whatever I now recite, has paſt in France with little noiſe, or rather with great ſilence as to me; for indeed I muſt with ſhame confeſs, that I have ſcarce heard in Paris this event, ſo famous throughout all Europe.

Man has nothing but what comes from Heaven, and commonly the ſtrongeſt, when he has right on his ſide, ſubdues the weak, and enriches himſelf with his ſpoils.

By the law of nature, every one has right of judging his own neceſſities, and the greatneſs of the danger wherein he finds himſelf; and if it be contrary to reaſon I ſhould be judge of my own danger, it is reaſonable another ſhould be ſo. But the ſame reaſon which eſtabliſhes another judge of what concerns me, has made me his judge; and conſequently gives me authority to judge of the ſentence which he ſhall give againſt me, and to decide whether it be juſt when it is favourable to me, or unjuſt, if it be contrary to my intereſts.

Nature has given all to men; and thou and I, and all men, have an equal right to all things; hence we have power to do whatever we will, to poſſeſs and enjoy what we think is fitting; and yet ſuch an extenſive right is juſt as if we had right to nothing; for at the ſame time I have right to a thing which pleaſes me, another ſtronger than myſelf, by virtue of the ſame right, takes it from me, and enjoys it in ſpite of me. Hence it is,

that one man invades another with the ſame right with which he defends himſelf; whence do, and will ſpring up always, the occaſions of jealouſies and diſcords which are among men, which make them at continual defiance with one another, and keeps them in a continual watchfulneſs over their neighbours.

It is this liberty founded in nature which makes it lawful in time of war to reſiſt and invade, not only by open force, but with all the ſecret arts and ſtratagems that can be deviſed; and when a man would avoid the danger he is in in fighting, and has his enemy in his hands, he has a right to uſe all means to avoid him, and ſecure himſelf from him.

Thou wilt approve of theſe reflections, which ſhow thee the natural right thou haſt of commanding me, as being thy inferior; and I hope, by what I have written, to have ſatisfied thy curioſity; and by my ſubmiſſion and obedience, to have given thee a proof of my profound reſpects to thee.

Paris, 7th of the laſt Moon, of the Year 1641.

X.—*To* Bedredin, *Superior of the Derviſes of Cogny, in Natolia.*

Let me, moſt holy and patient derviſe, ſalute thee with my head bowed down to the ground, with the greateſt humility I am able. I now write to thee with my feet naked, without either hoſe or ſhoes, as a mark of my reſpect and veneration which I have for thy old age, and the admiration I have at thy incorruptible innocency.

The kindneſs thou ſhoweſt me by the long letter I have received, has given me ſuch joy as I cannot expreſs, as makes me forget my paſt pains, and hinders me from

thinking of thoſe which are to happen to me; for I can now willingly leave this world, having had ſuch teſtimonies of thy affection. Thy great age does not aſtoniſh me, ſeeing thy father, who is yet alive, is one hundred and ſeven years old, and thou not above eighty-two; which makes me hope to ſee a great while yet, both one and the other, draw down by their prayers, and merit of their good actions, the bleſſings of Heaven on the glorious empire of the Ottomans, to whom all the empires and monarchies of the world ought to ſubmit.—The thirty brethren who preſented themſelves to Selim, to be enrolled in the troops which were to ſerve againſt the Perſians, made the father, who had them all by one woman, to paſs for the happieſt of all the muſſulmans, in having the good fortune to beget ſuch a number of the moſt noble ſpecies in nature. But thou and thy father muſt needs be more happy than this fertile parent. Thy father has fought and come out victorious from the perverſity of the age, full of fears and ſufferings, through the force of his courage, the innocency of his manners, and his great ſobriety; and as to thy part, what haſt not thou done to make thyſelf the worthy ſon of ſo glorious a father? Thou haſt not only done what thy father did before thee; thou haſt acquired the ſame virtues, and haſt ſo far outdone them, that one may ſay, thou haſt ſurpaſſed virtue itſelf. Thy ſtrength is admirable in the midſt of abſtinencies, and other auſterities which thou undergoeſt; in which it is certain thou canſt not be imitated. But Heaven, to whom only thou liveſt, will recompenſe in this world thy pure faith, which the enemy of mankind can never weaken.

The Chriſtians ſay, when God gave them the commandments, he promiſed long life to ſuch only who perfectly honoured thoſe, who, under God, brought them

into the light. If this be true, as it is very likely, it is not to be doubted but that a long life is the recompenſe which God gives thoſe who live well: And the Nazarenes, who are critics, affirm, that ſin alone is the cauſe that men do not live ſo long as they did before the deluge, for then they remained ſuch a while in life, as would tempt one to think they were to have been immortal. They ſay, that after the deluge, God changed the nature of men; and inſtead of that great number of years, which made up the courſe of ſo long a life, they cannot live at fartheſt above one hundred and twenty years, and that there are few which arrive to eighty; and whatever is beyond this is miſery and torment, or a kind of ſenſeleſſneſs which makes men like beaſts.

I know few people but what are agreed, one may cure or mitigate the inconveniencies which happen to us; but few are of opinion that life can be lengthened; yet, if this be poſſible, we may then believe a ſtory which is believed here, and which happened the year paſt in Paris.

An ancient man went to a derviſe of this great town, and thus accoſted him, "I am come, reverend Father, to know of you, whether I may in good conſcience determine to live no longer, being quite weary of living; I have already arrived to the one hundred and twenty-ninth year of my age, by means of a liquor which chemiſtry has taught me, whereby I did ſcarce perceive from any thing I felt that I was going down; yet, however, this long life appears at preſent to me irkſome and intolerable.—My blood is ſo purified in my veins, that I have remained without any of thoſe paſſions whereunto mankind are generally ſubject. My taſte ſerves me no longer to diſcover the delicacy of meats. My ears, although they be not deaf, yet will not let me diſtinguiſh true harmony from what is only a confuſion of ſounds. Mine eyes

are open to ſee, but are not cleared with any object.—My faculty of ſmelling is ſtruck with ſcents, yet they make no impreſſion on it. I touch, but I feel not what I touch; and I touch all things indifferently. Mine heart is no longer ſenſible, nor affected with tenderneſs and paſſion for my friends. Bile in me has no longer its uſual heat. Joy and ſorrow, anger, deſire of having, hope and hatred, are extinguiſhed in me; whereby I am become inſenſible in conſerving, if I may ſo ſay, all my ſenſes. I am reſolved therefore to let myſelf die, provided you can aſſure me I may do it without ſin; for ſhould I remain two days without taking this precious elixir, I am certain I ſhall ſoon expire, and ſo be delivered from the vexation which overwhelms me." It is ſaid that the derviſe anſwered this philoſopher, "That he might not deſire death, but, on the contrary, preſerve his life; and ſuppoſing he made uſe of no ſecret of magic to prolong his days, he ſhould believe that the marvellous potion, of which he had found the ſecret by his ſtudy and travel, was a preſent from Heaven: That it is true, he would be rid of a troubleſome life, but he could not procure the end of it without a crime; and that he was obliged to preſerve it, to ſuffer with greater ſubmiſſion the pains he complained of, which could not be comparable to the pleaſures he had received, by enjoying the gift which God had beſtowed on him."

The Great God preſerve thy days beyond thoſe of this philoſopher, and accompany them with whatever may give thee ſatisfaction: But I beſeech him, above all things, that he may never let ſlip out of thy memory the promiſe thou haſt made me, of having always a particular reſpect to thy ſervant Mahmut, who reverences thy holineſs.

Paris, 15th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1642.

XI.—*To the Redoubtable* VISIER AZEM.

I MAKE thee an anſwer, invincible warrior, by whoſe counſels the formidable empire of the Ottomans is governed under the orders of the moſt mighty of the princes of the earth, and whoſe arm is terrible to all the potentates of the world. I have read thy letter, wherewith thou honoured the moſt ſubmiſſive of thy ſlaves, with all the humility which is due to thy ſublime grandeur, whereunto thy merit has raiſed thee. And having caſt myſelf at thy feet in ſpirit, ſeeing I cannot really kiſs them, I obey the orders thou ſendeſt me, which are to me inviolable laws.

Banniere, the Swediſh general, is dead. When Picolomini, one of the generals of the emperor's army, lay juſt by him; in half an hour's time he ſaved himſelf, the army, all the baggage and cannon, and retired with incredible ſwiftneſs over mountains and foreſts, where the beaſts alone could make paſſages, having continually the Emperor's army at his back. He was a man of great valour, had been highly ſerviceable to the crown of Swedeland, and acquired the reputation of an excellent commander. The emperor had offered him ſome time before great recompenſes, and the dignity of a prince of the empire, if he would change his maſter, and forſake the confederates party. He had alſo offered, thinking this might more move him, to make him general of his army againſt the Grand Signior; but he refuſed all theſe offers, his fidelity being unmoveable.

This great captain was born in Swedeland, and when a child, he fell down from a high window, without receiving any hurt, which made the king imagine Heaven deſigned him for ſomething extraordinary. He travelled much in his youth, and he was ſeen never tired in run-

ning to all places where there was any war; ſometimes in Poland, and other whiles in Muſcovia; and being become general of his king's army, he ſoon acquired the reputation of one of the greateſt captains of the northern parts. He was perfectly ſkilled in the art of encamping, and no body could ever better draw up an army for battle. His way of retreat from before an army ſtronger than his, muſt needs be admired by all the world. He ever choſe good poſts; and when once he was poſſeſſed of them, he knew well how to keep them; ſo that he was never defeated, whatever forces his enemy might bring againſt him. He has deſtroyed fourſcore thouſand men in different rencounters, and Swedeland glories in having above ſix hundred ſtandards. He was ſo like King Guſtavus, that they have been often taken for one another. He was never covetous, but was obſerved to be a good huſband. Among ſo many occaſions wherein he ſignalized himſelf, what he did when the Swediſh army was worſted at Norlinge, is moſt remarkable; he preſerved the reſt, though wholly forſaken by the allies; and ſo ordered the matter, that he raiſed freſh troops almoſt in an inſtant, and gave his party time and courage to riſe up. And this is all I could learn of this great captain, whoſe reputation has given thee this curioſity.

Although Don Duarte de Braganza, the new King of Portugal's brother, ſerved with great reputation in the emperor's army; yet it is ſaid, the Spaniards had been very urgent with this monarch, to make him be apprehended, as ſoon as ever they heard the king his brother was raiſed to the throne. But, it is ſaid, the emperor was ſcandalized with ſuch a propoſition, alleging this would be againſt the rules of hoſpitality. But the empreſs's confeſſor found ſuch reaſons in his divinity, as brought over the emperor to yield he ſhould be delivered

into the Spaniſh miniſter's hands, who conducted him with a very ſtrong party to the caſtle of Milan, whence he is not like to ſtir out till his brother ſhall reſtore the crown of Portugal to Philip IV. of Spain.

I ſhall write what remains behind to the Kaimacham, who has the honour of being thy lieutenant; that I may not tire thee, who art to be reverenced as the inſtrument of the will of the maſter of lights, and all whoſe hours are deſtined to the government of the world.

May it pleaſe him, who of nothing has created all things, that thou mayeſt lay, one day, at the feet of the Grand Signior, the crowns of all the monarchs, who command in the infidels countries, and become thereby the arbiter of the univerſe.

Paris, 18th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1642.

XII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM, *at Conſtantinople.*

THIS king here has mortified his parliament, by the advice of Cardinal Richlieu. The parliaments are bodies of learned men, who decide all affairs in the kingdom, as well civil as criminal; and the parliament of Paris has a larger juriſdiction than all others, and as conſiderable prerogatives. What I have to ſay on this ſubject, has happened from the beginning of the laſt year; and now I relate it, becauſe I forgot to do it when the thing happened: And I will inform thee, before I enter on the matter, what obliged heretofore the kings of France to ſet up this great ſeat of juſtice.

The ancient kings of France gave it authority of approving and verifying the edicts and declarations which they ſhould make, which was a bar which theſe wiſe princes would fix between the people and the ſovereign

authority. Whence it appeared, that monarchy was mixed with ariſtocracy; without which the wiſe have thought, that ſtates could not long ſubſiſt; and the princes of this age have ſubmitted to a tribunal re-eſtabliſhed by themſelves, the reſolutions they take, to the end they may diſcharge themſelves towards God, to whom they are accountable, as well as other men, and to obtain confidence from their ſubjects, in taking from amongſt them arbiters to regulate them. Yet they have ever reſerved the liberty of making uſe of their abſolute power, as is ſeen in their letters patent, where they forget not to inſert theſe words, "For ſuch is our will and pleaſure."

Theſe monarchs alſo thought hereby to have found out a way to defend themſelves from the importunities of the grandees, who often demanded ſuch things which could not be granted without prejudice to the whole kingdom.

The authority of the now-reigning king being out of danger of being ſhaken or deſtroyed, this monarch having his exchequer well ſtored, his valiant and experienced captains, ſtout ſoldiers, and numerous armies, and good fleets of ſhips at ſea; whereby he would make known to this puiſſant tribunal, that if it had been ſet up to aſſiſt the kings by its counſels when required, yet it muſt not pretend that its decrees ſhould become laws to their ſovereigns. He went to the parliament with all the marks of grandeur with which he is uſually attended on theſe days of ceremony, and with ſuch a great company of lords as made the power of this monarch eaſily diſcerned. He gave theſe gentlemen to underſtand, he would have them ratify, without more ado, the orders he would ſend them, which they term edicts, requiring them to be immediately enregiſtered. He afterwards gave them an expreſs charge, not to concern themſelves henceforward

in affairs of ſtate; and to humble them the more, he declared to them, that he would be henceforward the diſpoſer of graces and offices, and beſtow recompenſes to ſuch as deſerved them. He added hereunto an order of giving an account every year to his chancellor of their deportments, and to come and receive every year his majeſty's approbation to continue them in their offices; and, as a mark of his indignation and authority, he put by the preſident and ſome counſellors from their places.

This bold and politic action was done (as I may ſay) in the midſt of dancings and divertiſements, the more to denote the monarch's authority, and in the time of ſuch magnificent feaſtings as became the pomp of the greateſt emperors, in the palace of the cardinal, for the marriage of his niece, Mademoiſelle de Breze, with the prince of Conde's eldeſt ſon, called the Duke d'Anguien; a prince from whom the world expects great things, and whom all France believes will prove one of the famouſeſt princes in Chriſtendom.

The Catalonians are obſtinate in their revolt; their deputies have been already ſeen in this court, to entreat a good ſupply from this king; and it is not to be doubted but they will earneſtly ſue for his protection: And France has already ſent troops near thoſe parts, and its fleets appear on the coaſts to encourage this nation and mortify the Spaniards. There are a great many troops raiſed here; and this monarch will have in the ſpring eight armies, commanded by generals of great valour and experience, beſides theſe two fleets; ſo that Germany, Lorrain, the Low Countries, Catalonia, and Italy, are like to be expoſed to the miſeries of an impoveriſhing war. Only Germany ſeems to be able to defend itſelf.

The vaſt genius of the French miniſter aſtoniſhes all

the princes of Europe; he breaks all their meaſures, and makes a ſecret war againſt them in their own courts. Nothing can eſcape his vigilant care; he keeps his own ſecrets ſo ſtrictly, that his neareſt friends cannot diſcover them. His power and authority are ſo great, that the princes of the blood are nothing in compariſon of him; and his fame makes him as much reſpected abroad as at home.

His friends affirm, he is ignorant of nothing which is projected in Europe. England is the place which he has laſt attacked, its civil wars owing their original to his deſigns.

I pray Heaven favour thy juſt pretenſions, and every day increaſe thy heroic virtues.

Paris, 15th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1642.

XIII.—*To the Moſt Excellent and Moſt Venerable* MUFTI, *Sovereign Prelate of the Holy Religion of the Faithful Muſſulmans.*

He of whom I wrote ſo many particulars, ſome moons ago, to obey, as I ought, the expreſs command thou laideſt upon me, not only is ſtill living, but is more abſolute than ever, in what concerns his miniſtry. Yet is it falſe that this cardinal finding nothing more (as thou writeſt to me, it is talked of in Conſtantinople) to ſatisfy his ambition (which puts him ſtill upon deſiring ſomething farther, being become the abſolute maſter of what depends on the kingdom of Lewis XIII.), had deſigns of making himſelf abſolute maſter of what concerns religion. But he was too knowing a man, to deſign the being the ſuperior general of all the French derviſes; a thing which neither the King of France nor

the pope would permit. I rather think this miniſter's deſign has been to ſubject all the Chriſtian princes to his maſter's intereſts.

The Ottoman empire would have ſome reaſon to be afraid, were all the Roman prelates wiſe enough to chooſe this man for their pope. We ſhould ſee in a ſhort time all Aſia agitated by his intrigues againſt the followers of the great Mahomet; and thoſe that follow Ali would not enjoy a much greater ſecurity. Thou knoweſt that the greateſt marks which the popes can give of their piety during their pontificate, is to ſtir up wars, and make leagues againſt us to overthrow our empire. Think then what this great man would do, were he the head of the Chriſtians, with thoſe abilities, and great intelligences which he every where keeps; ſeeing, that being only a ſubject, and miniſter of one prince, he ſo governs himſelf, that there is no nation, how far ſoever diſtant, but holds its eyes open on his conduct; and a pope being always choſen from amongſt the cardinals, and the pope now reigning being very old, it may happen that this dangerous man ſhall be choſen.

Thou, then, whoſe pure life makes us believe thou art a ſaint, pray the Great God to hinder ſuch an event, which will, without queſtion, diſturb the empire of him whom he has choſen to humble all other potentates, and ſhow on earth the greatneſs of his power; and, rather than ſuch a misfortune ſhould befall us, pray him that has created all things that this man's eyes be opened to know and embrace the true faith; for it were better (if I may ſo ſay without diſpleaſing thee) that this cardinal ſhould be a bad mufti at Conſtantinople than a good pope at Rome, at the head of all the Nazarenes.

It is ſaid that a foreign king conſulted this oracle (for he is held in as great veneration as if he was one),

what conduct he ſhould hold to live ſecurely: and it is ſaid the cardinal made this anſwer, "That kings ſhould live in fear, and then they would live in ſafety; it being certain they would receive no poiſon from the hands of thoſe who do not preſent them their drink, no more than they can receive wounds from thoſe whom they keep at a great diſtance from them. Thoſe who will not flatter them will not deceive them; and where they ſhall think themſelves in greateſt ſafety, that will always be the place of greateſt danger."

I am perſuaded, grave and wiſe prelate, thou wilt approve of the anſwer of this miniſter. Julius Cæſar lived in the midſt of combats, but died in the midſt of the ſenate.

Next, after God, it is before thee, great miniſter of Heaven! that I humble myſelf, entreating thee to receive graciouſly the profound reſpects of thy ſlave Mahmut.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1642.

XIV.—*To his Mother* OUCOUMICHE, *at Conſtantinople.*

IT may be ſaid I have eſcaped from a mortal ſickneſs, and remain in life only to hear the complaints of my friends, who recite to me their misfortunes; and of my kindred, who entertain me with the loſſes they have ſuſtained. Thou addeſt, my dear mother, a new torment to the pains I already ſuffer, by ſhedding ſo many fruitleſs tears. Oh! how cruel is my country, that gives ſo many occaſions of affliction to thoſe to whom ſhe has given their birth! Thou haſt loſt the greateſt part of thine eſtate in the fire of Conſtantinople, and death

has deprived thee of thy ſecond huſband. I was but a child when my father died, ſo that I could not then judge of thy grief; neither was I ſenſible of my own loſs. Now that I am a man, I enter into thy ſentiments, I ſhare in thy grief; and ſhall do all I can to comfort thee.

Thou haſt loſt thy firſt and ſecond huſband, and thou haſt reaſon to afflict thyſelf. If the firſt was an honeſt man, it is certain the other loved thee extremely; and the charms of thy countenance have not a little ſerved thee to acquire the affection of theſe two huſbands, which thou knoweſt how to keep by thy complacencies and blind obedience to their wills; and by ſuch a prudent carriage as, one may ſay, thou wouldſt force them to love thee, hadſt thou not done it by the charms of thy beauty.

But what ſhall we do in this thy extreme affliction, and in the troubleſome condition I am for the grief thou endureſt, which mingles my ink with my tears? Yet we muſt endeavour to be comforted with a firm reſolution not to afflict ourſelves but at the loſs of ſuch things which will never be in our power to recover; thou at the loſs of the reputation which thou haſt acquired of a virtuous woman, and I at that of an honeſt man.

When my father died, it was not all the philoſophy nor eloquence of the Greeks which could comfort thee; thy affliction was ſtronger than all their reaſons; and when theſe officious comforters had forſaken thee, thou ſoughteſt eaſe to thy trouble in a new ſpouſe. Him now thou haſt loſt, but now thou art ſtill in a condition from hindering this loſs from being irreparable. Thy virtue has never been queſtioned, and thou art not as yet ſo old but thou mayſt think of another huſband. Seek

a third, which may make thee forget thy ſorrow for the ſecond; and if thou findeſt him not immediately, or if thou hadſt ſome trouble in ſeeking a like comfort to thy affliction, receive in this letter the tears of another mother, which will ſhow thee there is a woman of a far higher condition that is more afflicted than thou art.

Paris is ſtill full of the cries and ſighs which come from a princeſs of the firſt rank. She has now loſt a great prince, her ſon, who is ſlain in a battle which he had won by a ſtrong army of which he was general. Read in my letter the lively and tender expreſſions of the grief of this illuſtrious mother, which draws compaſſion from his enemies, who are forced by the rules of civility to make her viſits. Thus does ſhe ſpeak every day and hour to perſons who come to viſit her; and, when there is no body, ſhe thus ſpeaks to herſelf.

This unfortunate woman is not a moment without ſighing; and one would think by her language ſhe intended to recal the ſoul which has quitted the body of her ſon, the unhappy Count of Soiſſons: "Poor Count, a ſon ſo tenderly loved, and ſo greatly deſerved it, where is thy body now to be found, dyed in blood and in that of thy enemies? What victory? Where are thoſe glorious marks that ſhould give me ſo great joy, and which give me ſuch cauſe of deſpair? Why did I bring thee forth into the world, unfortunate ſon, if I muſt ſo ſoon loſe thee? Miſerable mother, unhappy ſon! How art thou a conqueror when I ſee no other trophy of thy victory than thy death! I hear from all parts, that the Count is victorious, and yet I hear everywhere that his enemies rejoice. I ſee, dear ſon, all thy domeſtics that followed thee, return without wounds, and yet I do not ſee their maſter. None of them can tell me where he is, and in what place their general lies, who fought with ſo great

valour and ſucceſs to his party; but they are all agreed the battle was won, that my ſon is a conqueror, and that he has loſt his life. Unfortunate fight, which has made equally bewailed, the death of the victorious general by his mother, and the defeat by the vanquiſhed! Would to God thou hadſt been vanquiſhed, thou mightſt have lived. I ſhould not have been in this condition of following thee. It would have been no ſhame to have been defeated, it would have been only a misfortune which would have been common to thee with Pompey and Hannibal, to whom antiquity had nothing to impute, but their ill fortune. A ſincere reconciliation, a pardon, or a peace, might make all that is paſt forgotten. A voluntary exile might have appeaſed the king's anger, and perhaps diſarmed the cardinal; my ſon might have lived, France would not have been troubled, a mother would not have been at this day comfortleſs, and the Count's enemies would not have rejoiced at his loſs. But, to my grief, nothing of this has happened. Alas! the ſtay of an illuſtrious family is dead: Unhappy mother! how are all thy hopes vaniſhed? But, good God, how was this my dear ſon taken out of the world? I know but too well that his enemies laid continually ſnares for him. Methinks I ſee my ſon's murderers give him the deadly ſtroke in the heat of the fight, and in the inſtant he was going to enjoy his victory. Ah, my dear ſon! Ah, unfortunate mother! Why did I not breathe out my laſt on the dead body of this ſon, ſo worthy the eſteem of all the world, and whom I ſo dearly loved? Why didſt not thou, too powerful miniſter, give me the mortal blow, rather than let me ſee ſo ſad a tragedy? Do you kill me that hear me; or thou, my ſon, give me thy hand, to deſcend into the grave where thou art to be buried.

"But my reaſon fails me; I muſt, for my ſon's ho-

nour, ſtifle theſe motions of weakneſs. It is true, he lives no longer; but he died in the bed of honour, with his ſword in his hand; he died full of glory; he died victorious; and, even in dying, vanquiſhed his enemies.

"Let us ceaſe from ſhedding tears. But what do I ſay? he died aſſaſſinated, a victim ſacrificed to the vengeance of his enemies by the blackeſt treaſon it is clear; and yet I would live: No, I muſt die; let us imitate the greatneſs and courage of thoſe illuſtrious women, who threw themſelves on the pile whereon their huſbands were burnt: My ſon is more dear to me; let us then die, and weep no more: theſe tears are fruitleſs; but let us live, ſeeing Heaven ordains it, and let us live to die every day: I ſhall have ever preſent before my eyes the death of my ſon; I ſhall ſee every day his bloody body; I ſhall continually remember his reſpect, his tenderneſs for me, and I ſhall never forget the tender and violent paſſion which I had for this ſon, for whom alone I lived: But at leaſt, cruel cardinal, reſtore me his dead body. Thou haſt thy revenge, he is no longer alive; give this ſad conſolation to a deſolate mother, perhaps this ſight will work the effect thou deſireſt, cruel wretch as thou art; it will unite my ſoul to that of my ſon."

Dear mother, if thou canſt not comfort thyſelf by ſo great an example of misfortune as this princeſs, it will be hard for thy ſon to ſay any thing which can diminiſh thy grief. Imitate this illuſtrious woman, who having ſuffered whatever ſorrow and deſpair can do to a mother who loves vehemently, and with reaſon, ſuffers herſelf to be perſuaded not to give an entire victory to her enemies, who triumph ſtill over her ſon, by the grief which they ſee his death has cauſed. She has been ruled by the advice of her friends, and received great comfort from

a letter ſent her by the king, written with his own hands:

"Couſin, the grief which you ſhow at your late loſs obliges me to teſtify the ſhare which I have in it, and the diſpleaſure I conceive at the fault of him which has cauſed it: and though I ought not to be ſorry, by reaſon of the conjuncture wherein it has happened, yet I muſt heartily condole with you, and contribute what I am able to your conſolation."

I can ſay nothing more to thee, my moſt honoured mother, unleſs it be, that thou ſhalt always have in me a moſt obedient ſon; and if thou takeſt a third huſband, thou wilt be perhaps leſs unfortunate; but pleaſe thyſelf.

The Great God, who has created all things, and provides for their neceſſities by his infinite goodneſs, comfort and fill thee with his bleſſings.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1642.

XV.—*To the Grand Signior's Treaſurer.*

THE prieſt which played the tarpaulin, whom the French call the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, of whom I believe I have given thee ſome account the 10th Moon of the Year 1637, has loſt the credit which he had with the king, and is at preſent diſgraced. The opinion of his valour at court is much leſſened, by his not hindering, with the fleet he commanded, the Spaniards from putting ſuccours into Tarragone, a famous ſea-port near Barcelona. They loſt the laſt year twelve galleys in fight againſt the French naval forces; but having fitted a mightier fleet, they have put into this place the ſuccours they

intended. The archbiſhop could not, or would not, hinder them, which will be the cauſe that this place will not come ſo ſoon under the power of the French.

It is ſaid that this prelate was baniſhed France, and was retired into a city ſituated on the Rhoſne, named Avignon, and belongs to the Roman prelate.

It being a thing very uſual to run down the unfortunate, all the world blames this prelate, having not always met with equal ſucceſs on the ſea in the employs he fought, and which did not at all agree with his function of archbiſhop; which he might have performed with applauſe, in imitating his predeceſſor, who was his brother, the Cardinal de Sourdis, and who had left him a dioceſe well regulated, rich, furniſhed with great ſtore of churches well ſerved, paſtors of great piety and learning, whom this man had procured and ſettled in his dioceſe with great care; which made his death extremely lamented.

The Catalonians are at length become this king's ſubjects; they maintain their revolt with the French forces, and ſtrengthen themſelves after the example of the Portugueſes. They fight with ſuch courage, that they come off continually conquerors: but I ſhall make no relation of their fights, nor of the blood which is ſpilt on either ſide, which are matters I do not care to treat of.

God give thee a continual tranquillity of mind, make thee in love with peace, and preſerve in thee that vigilant ſpirit, ſo neceſſary for the keeping the treaſure entruſted to thee.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1642.

XVI.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE cardinal favourite of France has ſuch long hands, that he makes ſeizures in thoſe places which are not ſubject to his juriſdiction: and, when he has made them, he keeps them without any thoughts of reſtoring them. There is no probability at preſent that this bold politician will lay hands on what belongs to the Grand Signior; however, I have ſome reaſon to write this.

There has been carried, ſome days ſince, an illuſtrious priſoner into the caſtle of the Wood of Vincennes, and thou ſhalt hear this new way of apprehending a great man in another's houſe, and in the court of a foreign ſovereign, who is abſolute in his own eſtates. This priſoner was apprehended in the midſt of the fineſt ladies in the Court of Turin, at a magnificent ball which the dutcheſs-regent of this eſtate gave in her palace. It was this princeſs whom I mentioned to thee, who was widow to Victor Amadæus, Duke of Savoy, and ſiſter to the king which now ſo happily reigns over the French.

The dutcheſs, who had a particular conſideration for this priſoner, could not behold this exploit of the cardinal's without extreme vexation; his name is, if I be not miſtaken, Count Philip d'Aglie, a perſon of great quality, and whoſe excellent parts and courage do yet render him more illuſtrious than his birth.

It is not yet known why the cardinal undertook ſuch a bold ſtroke, though it is ſaid the council of France has had great reaſons to ſecure the perſon of this favourite. The chief motive they ſay was, that he was carrying on ſome deſigns againſt the intereſts of this crown with the Cardinal of Savoy, whom it is thought

he would have married to the widow of Amadæus his brother.

Richlieu attempted not to carry off Count Philip till having made ſeveral trials to remove him from the Court of Turin, under the pretence of ſome embaſſy to which he would never conſent; ſo that his obſtinacy coſt him his liberty.

The dutcheſs greatly complains and reproaches the king her brother with the violation of the right of nations and ſovereignty; but only her own court are ſenſible to theſe complaints, they being not heard in that of France; and her ambaſſador has been ſeen there in a ſupplicant poſture, humbly ſuing for the count's liberty; or that he might be ſent on an embaſſy to Rome; or at leaſtwiſe, that in leaving the caſtle of Vincennes, he might be impriſoned ſomewhere in Paris.

The cardinal anſwered the ſupplications of the ambaſſador of Savoy, that the king his maſter did not apprehend Philip and bring him into France, but out of regard to the intereſts of his ſiſter of Savoy; and that ſhe might be aſſured that for her ſake he ſhould be well uſed.

Thou mayſt ſee by this anſwer a great haughtineſs and frivolous reaſonings, which ſufficiently denote that this great miniſter does not love to be contradicted or oppoſed in the reſolution he takes; and if an account of what is done in the world muſt be given to any one man alone, he would take it very ill if it were to any body but himſelf.

I ſhall not fail to ſend thee the books thou requireſt, and inform thee the beſt I can of the falſe or true Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal, whom his ſubjects do believe to be ſtill alive, when I have made ſufficient inquiries into the truth of the matter. I kiſs with a profound

humility the hem of thy rich veſt, on which I faſten the lips of a reſpectful and obedient ſlave.

Paris, 21ſt of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1642.

XVII.—*To the* REIS EFFENDI, *Secretary of the Empire.*

THERE was found laſt night a man dead in the ſtreets of Paris, who ſeems not to be above thirty years old; he is a Spaniard, and had about him a letter or memoir, which it ſeems he had written to ſome confidant at Madrid, in theſe terms:

"Cardinal Richlieu told me he did not know the hand nor ſignature of Count Olivarez's ſecretary; and that when he ſhould fill up his ſigned blank, which I preſented him, and let fall the pretended letter of the ſecretary into the King of Spain's hands, he ſaw not what advantage could reſult hence to the King of France his maſter. I am very willing, added he, that the King of Spain ſhould ſuſpect the count or ſecretary of infidelity, and of having ſome commerce with me; but it would not be advantageous to us he ſhould be plainly convinced of it, ſeeing the greateſt happineſs France could have is, that Count Olivarez's miniſtry ſhould be perpetual; for being the moſt unhappy of all the favourites that have ever been in the place he poſſeſſes, all good Frenchmen are obliged to pray to God to give him a long life, and to continue him ever in the king his maſter's favour, to perpetuate by his counſels the diſgraces of Spain."

He purſued his point of raillery in this manner:

"Of a Duke of Braganza, Olivarez has made a King of Portugal; of a King of France, a Count of Barcelona; of a ſovereign Duke of Lorrain, a vaſſal; of a prince

cardinal, a knight-errant; of a Lord of Monacho, a duke and peer of France; and, in fine, of Philip IV. King of Spain, he has made a Count Duke de Olivarez."

This is all I could get from ſo great and illuſtrious a genius.

The juſt God, who has ſent us his prophet, ever direct thy actions, that thou mayeſt enjoy an happy [illegible], and give thee opportunities of doing good.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XVIII.—*To* WILLIAM VOSPKL, *a Chriſtian of Auſtria.*

GOD be praiſed, thy patriarch Elias, and his companion; foraſmuch as I ſee thou art a ſaint, and content in the religion of the barefooted friars, which thou haſt embraced. Thou ſtirreſt me up to do good, and encourageſt me to ſuffer, and become ſerious enough to renounce the pleaſures of the world, ſeeing thou traceſt me a way ſo neceſſary to walk in, in order to arrive at Heaven. I did not believe, indeed I confeſs it, thou wert endued with that conſtancy, and was afraid thou wouldſt change; but ſeeing thou haſt the courage of keeping thy reſolution, and enduring all the incommodiouſneſs which is to be met with in that kind of life which thou haſt embraced; I am ſorry for my ſuſpicions, and profeſs I have all due eſteem for thee. I love thee as much as one honeſt man ought to love another, who having found out the true good, has run impetuouſly after it; and who has paſt immediately from a ſoft and voluptuous life to the ſeverities of an auſtere religion, in ſearch of an aſſured port, which is more uſually found in ſufferings and macerations, than in delights and pleaſures. There is one thing amongſt others which extremely pleaſes me in

the order thou haſt entered; all things are in common amongſt you; one key opens an hundred doors; you have no *Meum et Tuum*; all clad in the ſame faſhion, and all go barefooted; you eat at the ſame table, and no body has better or worſe fare than another. In fine, your prayers are the ſame, and ſo are your vows of poverty.

But prithee tell me, what would a thief have found in thy cell, whom I ſaw yeſterday hanged with a key about his neck? He had the dexterity of opening with his key all ſorts of locks, and has done a thouſand roguiſh exploits, which have at length brought him to the gallows. He told the people he died a moſt happy man, as having practiſed with great ſucceſs an art inferior to none: that the only crime he thought he had been guilty of for theſe thirty years was his committing but ſmall theſts; that had he found the doors always open he had never entered into any houſe; and he exhorted magiſtrates to chaſtiſe only thoſe who ſuffered themſelves to be robbed.

Spaniſh authors have written, there is no law which allots penalties to thoſe that rob with prudence and ingenuity. Thus, ſay they, do all thoſe who ſteal wherewithal to appeaſe the envious who would accuſe them, the witneſſes which might ſerve to convict them, and the magiſtrates by whom they are to be judged; ſo that the thief that ſhall have ſtolen for himſelf, and for all others I now mentioned, ſhall be ever ſent away abſolved; which makes me think that theft is of the nature of women, for both one and the other ſeem at this day to be neceſſary evils, juſt as keys ſeem only good now-a-days to preſerve what may be ſtolen, and not to hinder it from being ſo.

How many things has the injuſtice of ſome people au-

thoriſed for the ſafeguard of a town? It is not enough to have a ſtrong garriſon of ſoldiers; three elements are not ſufficient to defend it againſt a greater power that would oppreſs it. The earth is raiſed to make thereof trenches; the deepeſt ditches are dried up, whatever quantity of water may be in them, and fire is enclofed in cannons, the effects of which are terrible. If thou ſurveyeſt Italy, thou wilt find, in ſeveral towns, palaces which have more gates than Thebes had heretofore; and if thou counteſt the keys which ſerve to open them, thou wilt find the iron they are made of to coſt more than the doors themſelves.

Men are not contented to uſe theſe keys according to the common uſe they ſeem to be deſigned for; their ambition makes them ſerve for marks of honour in ſeveral princes courts, where they be recompenſes for ſervices, for virtue and valour. The golden key in Spain, which the great lords wear, denotes, that they know how to open the gate of favour. And it is the ſame in Germany, and eſpecially in the emperor's court.

Happy was ancient Rome, whoſe citizens were ſo wiſe, that being adviſed to turn the front of their houſes on that ſide where they could not be obſerved by their neighbours, they anſwered the architect, "We rather deſire our houſes may be overlooked into, becauſe we do nothing wherein we fear a ſurpriſe." Whereas modern Rome, on the contrary, may be termed unhappy, wherein there are not enough gates, and porters of them, to conceal what is done in the moſt retired places of their palaces.

It is in this city where luxury grew to that height under the firſt emperors, that all mens ſtudies were to find out new pleaſures.

But I muſt end this diſcourſe of keys, of doors, and

door-keepers; I muſt not expect to reform the world, nor would I weary thy patience. Pardon me my paſſing from the cell to the ſtory of the thief whom I ſaw executed, and from the thief to a diſcourſe of keys, and other things with which I have entertained thee. I was ſo full of it that I could not forbear the diſcourſe, no more than I can now to ſpeak of the ſubtilty of the Spaniards, who have vaunted of the worth of their Eſcurial, by the great number of the keys which belong to it; like that fooliſh emperor who valued the greatneſs of Rome by the great weight of ſpiders webs which were there. The Spaniards affirm, there are ſo many doors to this ſtately edifice, that the keys which ſerve to open them weigh above ten thouſand weight.

But it is time to end this tireſome letter. Let me then counſel thee to watch over thy conſcience as the Pariſians do over their ſhops, to prevent violences. Here are ſo many great and ſmall thieves, that ſhould they be puniſhed as they were chaſtiſed in Syria, where the ſame puniſhment is impoſed on him that is robbed as he that robs, this great town would be ſoon unpeopled, or become a priſon to an infinite number of people who would be found faulty.

May it pleaſe the great God, who ſhould be adored by all creatures, to incline the great Prelate (after thou art delivered from the burden of the fleſh), to place thee amongſt the number of thoſe for whom the church has a pious veneration, and reſpect thy aſhes in ſuch a manner as I hope thy holy and exemplary life will deſerve.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XIX.—*To the Venerable* MUFTI.

THOU wilt not think me troubleſome, if thou remembereſt the order thou haſt given me, and I ought rather to hazard the tiring of thee by frequent letters, than be accuſed of neglect for not obeying thee. Obedience muſt needs be agreeable where the command is made with wiſdom. When I write to the Grand Viſier, it is in trembling; and if I write to the Kaimacham, I am not without hope; and I ſend no letter to the other baſſas without inquietude and great trouble. As to what concerns my friends, I divert myſelf in writing to them.—But when it is to thee I write, I may ſay it is, that I may hope, live, and obtain in the other world that happy ſtate ſpoken of by our holy Prophet, that life which is to be the recompenſe of all thoſe who ſhall perform good actions whilſt they dwell among men.

Cardinal Richlieu would willingly be abſolute in matters of religion as thou art; he would alſo be thought a ſaint, but he knows not how to be one; and indeed he would be every thing. However, he does abundance of things which thou doſt not, and pretends to be above thee, becauſe he does not live as thou doſt. This man, whoſe head is full of the affairs of the world, concerns himſelf in whatever paſſes in Europe; one only employ cannot ſatisfy him; he is not contented with being the favourite of a great king, under whoſe authority he governs all things: Some time ago it was reported he would make himſelf a patriarch. He aſpires extreme high, undertakes the moſt difficult matters, and takes a ſingular pleaſure in making uſe of extraördinary means for the execution of his projects, that poſterity and hiſtorians may write, that being come into the world with a ſmall fortune, he died rich; and being born in the condi-

tion of a private man, he lived in the ſtate of a great prince. Obſerve, venerable prince of that religion, which can alone be approved of by him who drew the world out of nothing, two remarkable ſtrokes of this French Tiberius, which I have learned but lately.

The cardinal ſent to Madrid *incognito* a general of certain derviſes, a man of a fit genius to ſecond his own, of a piercing and ſubtle wit, and very underſtanding in ſecular affairs; after having given him expreſs order, that as ſoon as ever he ſhould be in Spain, he ſhould do ſuch and ſuch a thing, and that at his return into France, he ſhould remit into his hands alone the memoirs of what he had tranſacted. This monk ſucceeded very well in the employ he undertook, but in his return the cardinal ſent an expreſs command to him, to deliver, before he entered into France, all his papers into the hands of a gentleman who brought him his letter. The derviſe obeyed, but he was diſgraced; and the cardinal maintained it was a crime to obey on this occaſion; for having once received an order to entruſt no body with theſe papers but himſelf, he could not be excuſed for delivering them to others; and for this reaſon he forbade him to ſet foot within the kingdom. This poor religious died ſome time after, deſperate at this uſage; and perhaps this is the firſt time a man has been puniſhed for too punctual obedience.

It is not many moons ſince there came poſt a perſon of quality from Italy, who brought conſiderable news to the cardinal. It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the careſſes this favourite made him; and to denote his joy, he immediately preſented him with a rich diamond, and made him hope for ſtill greater recompenſes; yet this ſame perſon that had brought this ſo good news was carried to the Baſtile as ſoon as he came out of the cardinal's cloſet, where he remained for ſome moons without

ſeeing any body; ſo that he imagined himſelf all that while in a dream; but at length his priſon doors were ſet open, and the cardinal would ſee him, and made him be given as many hundred crowns as he had paſt over days in his ſolitude. He accompanied this preſent he made him with all the civilities imaginable, and ſaid theſe words to him, "Thou art not to blame, and yet I could not but puniſh thee for my fault, when I made thee enter into my cloſet as ſoon as thou cameſt from Italy to bring me ſo advantageous news. The great deſire I had to know the particulars of the buſineſs, made me forget to take off from my table a writing of great importance, which thou mighteſt have read entire; which contained the revolt of Catalonia, the demands of this province, and the intrigues of France, which cauſed this inſurrection; and the knowledge of ſo important a myſtery might make my prince loſe the acquiſition of ſo rich a province, ſo that I could not imagine a more ſafe and ſpeedy remedy, than to ſhut thee up in a place where it was impoſſible for thee to make any uſe of the notices thou didſt get by my imprudence. But things being at preſent in ſuch a condition, wherein it is impoſſible France ſhall receive any prejudice, I reſtore thee thy liberty, and entreat thee to forget the ſeverity which reaſons of ſtate have put me upon. Receive from my hands the preſent which the king my maſter makes thee; and be pleaſed to reckon me amongſt the number of thy particular friends.

I proſtrate myſelf again at thy feet, holy Prelate, entreating thy benediction, and that thou wilt look on me as one of thy moſt obedient children, having ſuch a reſpect to thy holineſs as is due to the greateſt miniſter of heaven that ever interpreted the holy Alcoran in the empire of the faithful.

I alſo entreat thy prayers, that God, having regard to the ſupplications which thou ſhalt offer him, would give me the grace to live honeſtly, and ſerve the ſultan faithfully, and that I may die in the religion of my fathers.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XX.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE books of the Arabian, Geber, are not to be found in that language which thou deſireſt them in; I have ſought for them, I believe, in above two hundred bookſellers ſhops, and there is not one of them knows they were ever tranſlated into the tongue in which thou wouldſt have them.

It is now ſome time ſince theſe books have been common in France; and there are ſeveral perſons who apply themſelves to Dr. Geber's ſcience; but there is no tranſlation of them into any of the common languages of Europe. When I inquired for this book, the bookſellers aſked me ſeveral different queſtions, and eſpecially, whether I ſought for receipts to prolong life: Some there were who aſked me grinning, whether my deſign was to fix ſome volatile deity? And others anſwered the queſtion I made them on the book of the learned Geber, only by a ſilence, accompanied with ſome ſmiles; and at the ſame time putting into my hands a book, ſaying unto me, "Here is what you look for, this is what you want, Monſieur Abbot;" and this book treated of impoſſible things; of the quadrature of the circle in geometry; of the philoſopher's ſtone in chemiſtry; of the perfection of the orator in rhetoric; of a republic, ſuch a one as Plato would have in his politics; and of the perpetual motion in the mathematics.

I did not ſeem to be much moved at theſe merchants dealings with me; but I found a very honeſt capuchin, who put me in hopes of recovering the Geber thou ſeekeſt, for he aſſured me he ſaw it in Chaldee, or in the Egyptian language, in a learned man's library, without giving me any encouragement to think it may be purchaſed, becauſe he that poſſeſſes it is not needy of money.

Thou wilt not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed to know what this religious told me concerning chemiſtry; and he appeared to me not only to have learning but experience. He aſſured me there were in Paris alone ſeveral thouſands of men that applied themſelves to this exerciſe; and that there were above four thouſand authors who treat of this ſcience: That King Geber was the moſt knowing and cleareſt in his expreſſions, and yet there are none but ſuch as are real philoſophers, and wholly bent to the ſtudy of nature, that can eaſily underſtand him. Whereunto he added, there were ſeveral people who laboured with great patience, but few with thoſe qualifications which are neceſſary to find ſucceſs; he affirmed, that ſpeculative knowledge is fruitleſs; that one muſt have a long practice and continual exerciſe; that moſt people labour to no purpoſe, becauſe they do not take nature for their guide, no more than the operations ſhe makes in minerals; becauſe, according to Geber, the principles of the art ſhould be thoſe of nature itſelf; and that it is only in metals we can find metals; and that it is, in fine, by metals one can ſucceed in the making of perfect metals.

This good derviſe maintained, that the true way to proceed to the perfection of this great work, conſiſts in the union of the mineral ſpirits purified by art, with the perfect metallic bodies, having firſt volatilized them and then fixed them, in conſerving all the radical humidity,

and in augmenting the natural heat, by a diſcreet concoction of the compoſition which comes by this marvellous ferment, which makes all this maſs boil, and puts it into a fermentation; ſo that this marvellous compoſition, inſinuating itſelf by penetration into the moſt ſubtle parts of the melted metal, by the external fire, and radically diſſolving it, it ripens it, and purges it from whatever is not of the eſſence of gold and of mercury, till the whole be driven out to an entire perfection, which made the maſter of maſters, the learned Geber, ſay, that this perfect elixir being the pure ſubſtance of metals, it ſeeks in the melted metals that which is of the ſame nature with itſelf, and perfects it.

Now, as it is impoſſible for the artiſt to produce any thing that is new according to his fancy, but only to join or ſeparate what nature has produced, Raymund Lully would have us underſtand, that the body in this art is the metallic being, in which lies the mineral ſpirit, becauſe the metals are nothing elſe but this ſpirit, of which conſiſts the philoſopher's ſtone; and this ſpirit is properly the virtue of minerals, in which is contained the ſpring of metals. But the famous Geber has plainly ſhowed that this ſtone is wholly created and formed by nature, to which the artiſt neither adds nor diminiſhes any thing, but only makes it change its place by his preparation, which in every other reſpect is uſeleſs.

This friar affirms, this mineral body, entirely ſpirituous as it is, has yet four ſorts of ſuperfluities, of which it muſt be purged by the hand of the artiſt, viz. a great humidity, the earth which is found therein, the ordinary ſulphur which burns, and the ſalt which is corroſive; and it muſt be purified by calcination, diſſolution, ſublimation, and fixation, that there may alone remain the radical humidity, fixed and permanent; which being af-

terwards united in an indiſſoluble manner to the perfect body, compoſes this incomparable body, which is ſo much ſought, and ſo ſeldom found, and which is an hot elixir, powerful to ripen and purify all imperfect metals, and convert them into gold or ſilver.

There is afterwards given an activity to the gold, in refining it by new degrees of fire, added to that which it already had.

Thus far went our converſation, when an old woman came unhappily upon us, and bereaved me of the ſatisfaction of learning of this religious ſome important ſecret which he ſeemed inclinable to intruſt me with. This indiſcreet and impertinent woman uſing the liberty ordinary with the people of this country, cruelly interrupted our converſation; and I remained ſtruck as it were with a flaſh of lightening, when this knowing friar told me, that the arrival of this woman forced him to take his leave of me; and he appeared to be gone, like a man that was expected for ſome weighty affair; when caſting his eyes on my countenance, he perceived the perplexity and confuſion which this ſeparation cauſed in me; and to comfort me, he ſaid thus to me in my ear: "I know very well, friend, thou haſt an inquiſitive ſoul, and deſigneſt great things; meet me at my cell, and in the mean time I will tell thee for thy conſolation in plain terms, that it always has been, and always ſhall be my opinion, that to labour profitably, one muſt follow Raymund Lully's rules. This great philoſopher affirms, and I am of his mind, that to make gold, one muſt have gold and mercury, and mercury and ſilver to make ſilver; but I underſtand by mercury, that mineral ſpirit ſo refined and purified, that it aurifies the very ſeed of gold, and argentizes that of ſilver." Theſe are the very words he ſpake to me.

But in leaving me, I entreated him to tell me, whether it was eaſy to attain to the accompliſhment of this great work; and what was neceſſary for that great end?

He anſwered me, it was very hard, which made almoſt all people deſpair of compaſſing it, there being very few people on whom Heaven beſtowed the neceſſary qualifications to acquire this precious art; that theſe qualifications conſiſted in being a true philoſopher, and in being perfectly ſkilled in nature, in having a patience proof againſt all diſappointments; and that a man ſhould be in the flower of his age, ſtrong and vigorous to endure labour, well furniſhed with wealth, and indefatigable. Whereunto he added, that if any of theſe qualities were wanting, one might be certain that the others would be ſo alſo; that a man who is unacquainted with nature, works like a blind man; and that ſhould one fail of ſucceſs the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, nay, fifth or ſixth time, in the operation, he is a fool that then grows weary, and does not again begin to ſet at work with the ſame earneſtneſs and hopes of ſucceſs; and that ſhould a man want a vigorous health, labour would weaken and make him faint; and that, in fine, if one be without ſufficient eſtate, it is impoſſible the work ſhould ſucceed; which demands an entire man, and ſuch a one as minds nothing elſe.

This derviſe, moreover, told me as a thing certain, that ſeveral perſons had attained to the perfection of this undertaking, which employs ſo great a number of virtuoſo's in all parts of the world; for were it not ſo, there would not be that quantity of gold there is, for all that of the Indies was not ſufficient to ſatisfy ſo many people, who mind nothing elſe but gaining of it; and that, in fine, ſuch great treaſures which are heaped up, and the gold that runs in traffic, never came out of the mines which are in the mountains, but that a great part has

been made by artiſts. He, moreover, aſſured me, that the overſeers of the mint in France affirmed, as a thing beyond all queſtion, that there was more gold brought to them than ever came from foreign parts, which made him conclude that the art is true, and that no man need doubt that there is ſuch a thing as the philoſopher's ſtone.

This converſation, although interrupted, made me ceaſe being incredulous; and if I were an heretic in this matter yeſterday, I begin now to have faith, and believe: Only it is a work extreme difficult; and I do no longer wonder there are ſo many people who deceive others without any deſign of doing it; and am not ſurpriſed they ſhould apply themſelves to all ſorts of perſons, not excepting princes; for they believe ſtill they ſhall meet with ſucceſs; and not being able to furniſh the charges they muſt be at, they uſe all ſorts of tricks to move thoſe whom covetouſneſs renders on this occaſion very eaſy to be perſuaded; and all in general meet in their operations with great hunger, cold, labour, and ſmoke.

It ſeems as if that which hindered thoſe who have been fortunate enough to attain the perfection of this work from communicating their knowledge in this matter, was the dread of their prince's power, as having oft experienced that they are jealous at the riches of a private perſon. Sovereigns cannot endure that a mean wretch, born amongſt the dregs of the people, ſhould have in his power wherewithal to make himſelf happy and ſeveral others, which obliges them to deprive theſe philoſophers of the means of working, and makes them labour in ſecret, and conceal themſelves with more care when they have finiſhed their work. Great men cannot eaſily ſuffer private people to become maſters by virtue of this art, and do all thoſe wonders which by this mar-

vellous metal may be wrought in their cloſets without going to Peru, and ranſacking there the bowels of the earth; they know very well that this longed-for gold produces every thing; gives reputation; makes them follow one, who fled from a man before; corrupts thoſe who appear the moſt incorruptible; opens the ſtrongeſt doors; overthrows whole armies; cauſes a man to change his mind in a moment; makes him that was a poor man preſently talk ſentences. Nay, many Chriſtians affirm this metal to be ſo efficacious, that it draws the ſouls out of a doleful abode called Purgatory; ſo that it ſeems as if it appeaſed God's wrath, and brings men to heaven.

Theſe afore-mentioned reaſons obliged the cruel Dioclefian to put to death as many chemiſts as could be found in Egypt, and at the ſame time to cauſe their books to be burnt, leſt the people, who were naturally ingenious, being become too powerful by the art of making gold, ſhould undertake a war againſt the Roman empire. But we find in the ancient writings of the Arabians, that Moſes having learned of God himſelf the art of perfectly knowing nature, and that of the converſion of metals, and making gold, to write in letters formed of this metal the law he preſcribed the Iſraelites: He taught it to Carun, a poor man, but his intimate friend and near kinſman; who being become very rich by means of this ſcience, had heaped up immenſe treaſures, and built himſelf forty houſes, which were filled with gold, but were all ſwallowed up, and buried in the earth by the virtue of Moſes's rod, with the maſter of them, whom ſo great riches had rendered proud, and made him think of withdrawing himſelf from obeying this great ſervant of God, having falſely accuſed him before the people of divers crimes, and eſpecially of having abuſed a virgin.

The laſt thing which was diſcovered in the Venetian territories, was a great urn found in an hollow cave. In this urn, which was conſiderably large, there was another leſs, and in it two pots, one full of gold reduced into liquor, and the other of ſilver of the ſame faſhion, and a lamp which ſeemed to have burnt for many ages. It was known by the characters on this urn that they were conſecrated to the god Pluto; and there were on them Latin verſes which ſhowed that Maximus Olibius had been the author of them. Thoſe then who ſay this art is falſe, that the beginning of it is a lie, the middle of the work mere fatigue, and the end beggary, have not ſaid true themſelves; and yet one cannot accuſe them as having not in ſome ſort ſpoke the truth.

I beſeech the Sovereign Creator of all things, from whom alone we hold what we know, as being the great and wiſe architect of nature, that he would beſtow on thee the ſcience of the learned Geber, that thou mayeſt be as rich as Solomon; but above all that he would grant thee the ſpirit of Aglaus, who was ever ſeen to live content.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XXI.—*To* Mehemet, *an Eunuch Page to the Sultaneſs.*

The adventure which thou relatedſt happened in the ſeraglio, ſhows that women are expoſed to great accidents. Their condition is unhappy when they are handſome, but more when they are homely and deformed. The fathers, brethren, and huſbands, guard the former as Cerberus guarded the gates of hell; and the others guard themſelves, and look on all things with eyes of envy and diſcontent, which makes them empoiſon every thing. But

that which happens amongſt us is very different from what is in France, where women enjoy a liberty almoſt equal to that of men. Not but that we ſee notable adventures happen there; witneſs the queen, who is mother to a great king, now reigning, and yet lives in exile, and as a fugitive amongſt ſtrangers, through the credit of Cardinal Richlieu, for whom ſhe has not all the deference he expected. And an ancient lady (I may call her ſo now ſhe does not hear me), told me ſuch things ſome days paſt on this occaſion, which I can ſcarce believe myſelf, did I not know them to be true from elſewhere.

I am farther told, that this cardinal, not having ſucceeded in the deſign he had of marrying his niece with a prince of the blood, intended (if he could) to marry her to the king's brother: But there is no great likelihood but ſo able a miniſter muſt ſee into the miſchievous conſequences into which this promotion would bring him; for it would undoubtedly draw on him the hatred of all the great people in the kingdom, and I would not be mentioned at Conſtantinople for the author of all the news talked of at Paris.

But it is certain this prieſt ſent the chancellor, a venerable perſon, and by his office a man of great authority, to ſeize on this princeſs's papers, in hopes he might meet with ſome letter which might favour that deſign. The chancellor executed the order he had received, but found nothing of what the cardinal pretended; ſo that this perſecution ſerved only to manifeſt this princeſs's virtue, who lives in ſuch a manner as may not only ſerve as an example to all queens, but all the women in the world.

Some time after, this ſame chancellor being come to compliment the queen on the birth of the dauphin, ſhe told him in a compoſed manner, but very pleaſantly, that

this viſit was very different from that ſhe had received from him about a year paſt.

If perſons that are ſeated in the higheſt degrees be not ſecure from the bold attemps of thoſe who are infinitely below them, and who are born to ſerve them; the beautiful Circaſſian ſhould comfort herſelf in the misfortune ſhe had of being accuſed. If her innocency be well proved, ſhe will be the more pleaſing to Ibrahim, and the falſe accuſation laid againſt her will be a new charm to him; whereas ſhould ſhe be found guilty, we muſt grant ſhe deſerves the moſt dreadful puniſhments for having violated, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, the ſacred nights of the ſeraglio.

However, the young Perſian was found diſguiſed in women's apparel in ſome of the neighbouring ſtables; and though he in the midſt of the torments he ſuffered died without confeſſing any thing, yet it cannot be ſaid he died innocent, after ſuch an attempt.

I hope thou wilt inform me what has happened ſince thy laſt letter, and in what manner the adventure of this beautiful ſlave ſhall be ended: I ſhall be much troubled for her if ſhe be innocent; and cannot be wholly free from compaſſion for her if ſhe prove guilty.

Leave not off writing to me; and if it be poſſible be not weary of loving me. I ſpeak in the preſence of our holy Prophet, I love thee with the ſame affection as ever, and I dare not utter an untruth before him.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XXII.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

IT is about ſixty years ſince Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal died in Afric, by the hands of the Moors, and yet his ſubjects will believe him ſtill living.

He parted from Liſbon in the year 1578, in the deſign of re-eſtabliſhing on his throne Muley Mehemet cheriff of Afric, whom his uncle Muley Abdelemelech would bereave of his kingdom; but, in effect, to endeavour at the making himſelf maſter of Barbary.

His army conſiſted of a thousand ſail, well furniſhed with proviſions, few ſoldiers, but a great many nobility. This prince was not above five-and-twenty years of age when he formed this enterpriſe; [illegible] ſtrong bodied man, of a moderate ſtature, but [illegible]; his hair was yellow, his eyes great and full [illegible]s courage was not inferior to his [illegible]th, and he had no violent inclination to [illegible] generally take men's minds off [illegible] was temperate in all things, yet very forw[illegible]kings, and always firm and immoveable [illegible]eſt dangers. He was a great huſband of his revenues; employing them in his ſubjects defence, or to the increaſe of his own power. He was agreeable to all thoſe that waited on him; and in the freeſt converſations he took care not to diſoblige any one by ſharp raillery or diſtaſteful ſayings; and ſo merciful was he, that he avoided all occaſions of condemning his ſubjects to death. He paſſionately loved war; but it is thought the expedition into Afric, wherein he periſhed, came from Spaniſh counſels.

D. Sebaſtian was killed, fighting with an invincible courage. The Moors ſay, that his enemies were ſo charmed with his courage, that his death drew tears from their eyes.

He was forſaken by his own; mortally wounded near the right eye-brow; and pierced with darts in ſeveral parts of his body. He had no wound in his head, becauſe he was armed; but he had a great one in his arm, which ſeemed to come from a muſket-bullet. It is ſaid

he was buried in the field, near a Moor, without any ceremony, prayers, or company of his relations or fubjects. And this was the end of this great king, who made all Africa at firſt to tremble.

Although the Moors rejoiced at the death of ſo puiſſant an enemy, yet his friends bewailed his misfortune. The kingdom of Portugal celebrated his funeral in a magnificent manner, and the King of Spain proffered ſeveral thouſand [illegible] for his body, to bury him in a manner anſwer[illegible]e dignity of his birth and merit; and four kings [illegible] applied his throne; yet there was found a man bold enough to [illegible] the face of all Italy, that he was ready to [illegible] Portugal. He preſented himſelf [illegible] aſſembly of the wiſeſt magiſtrates in Europe, and recited to them the accidents of his life, the hiſtory of his predeceſſors, the misfortunes he met with in Africa, whence he retired into Calabria. He did more; for he ſtripped himſelf before this illuſtrious aſſembly; he ſhowed them ſeventeen marks on his body, which were acknowledged, with aſtoniſhment, by the Portugueſes themſelves, to be, at leaſt, very like thoſe which they knew their ſovereign had on his body; and he alſo ſhowed that he had one hand greater than the other, and a lip diſproportionable in the ſame manner, which were the well known marks in the perſon of Don Sebaſtian. He talks of ambaſſadors which he ſent to the republic; he cites the anſwers he had received; and all he ſays is found conformable to the truth. He anſwers without heſitation to all that is objected; which makes ſeveral of the ſenate believe him to be really the king, and others take him for a witch.

But, in fine, this prince, right or wrong, is led away to priſon, at the ſolicitation of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, where having long lain, he is ſet at liberty, under an

obligation to leave the Venetian countries in three days time.

Some Portugueſe, moved with compaſſion, diſguiled him in a derviſe's habit, and conducted him ſecretly to Florence, to tranſport him afterwards to Rome, but the Great Duke of Tuſcany cauſed him to be apprehended, and ſent him to the viceroy of Naples. He preſented himſelf before him with his uſual confidence, and ſurpriſed all that ſaw him and heard him ſpeak; and ſeeing the viceroy uncovered, he ſaid to him with great aſſurance and gravity, "Be covered, Count de Lemnos:" which obliged this miniſter to aſk him, "By what authority he took on him this boldneſs?" To which he anſwered, "That his authority was born with him, and that he feigned not to know him; and yet he ought to remember that King Philip his uncle had ſent him twice to him, and that the ſword which he then wore by his ſide, was that which he then gave him."

The ſentence which the viceroy gave of him was, that he was an impoſtor, who deſerved to be ſent to the galleys, and ſhould not long be from them; and wherein, it is ſaid, he died ſome time after.

Yet the Portugueſes have been perſuaded he was their real king, and do ſtill continue of that opinion, there being nothing which is able to make them change it. Some perſons in the world will have him to be a magician, others an impoſtor, and the moſt ignorant will have him to be a devil, or really the king himſelf.

This is not the firſt example of the boldneſs of an impoſtor. Rome ſaw heretofore a man that had the audacioufneſs to publiſh he was the real Pompey who was killed in Egypt by the cruelty of the young Ptolemy. The Queen Artemiſa found one Artemius, who had ſo great a reſemblance with Antiochus her huſband, whom

ſhe had cauſed to be murdered, that he was not known when he put himſelf into the bed of the dead king, pretending to be this prince ſick; he recommended Artemiſa to his ſubjects, and did ſeveral things in favour of this princeſs. Under the reign of Tiberius, was there not occaſion to be ſurpriſed at the bold anſwer which a ſlave made to this emperor; who queſtioning him, how he made himſelf Agrippa, anſwered without heſitation, "In the ſame manner thou haſt made thyſelf Cæſar."

The Don Sebaſtian I mentioned, has not been the only one in the world; there have been two others; one of which departing out of the Iſle of Tercères, who had great reſemblance with this prince, went into Portugal, where he ſaid he had miraculouſly eſcaped from the battle he loſt in Afric; that he ſaved himſelf in woods, and returned into his kingdom, to give peace to his people, and deliver them from the tyranny of ſtrangers; but having been convicted of impoſture, he was put to death.

It is ſaid, that another being come diſguiſed in the habit of a pilgrim, to Madrid itſelf, and having had a long and ſecret conference with King Philip II. (by whom it is ſuſpected he was known for this unhappy prince), was by this king's order ſaid to be poiſoned in a banquet given him by Antonio Peres.

I ſhall write ſeveral things to the invincible vifier, of which I deferred to give him notice, becauſe I would be certain of them, they being of importance; and it would have been great lightneſs in me to have written them on the firſt reports ſpread amongſt the people.

Receive always with the ſame goodneſs, the marks I give thee of my obedience; ſend me thy orders and counſels, which, I pray him that has created all things, may be good and profitable to the empire of thoſe precious

ones, which he has enlightened with his truth; to the end they may arrive at the eternal glory and pleaſures promiſed, as from his part, by his holy Prophet; and I alſo pray him to preſerve thy life and authority.

Paris, 24th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XXIII.—*To the Venerable* MUFTI, *Prince of the Religion of the Turks.*

IT is not known whether it be the recompenſe of a good or bad action, which Cardinal Richlieu has ſent with ſo great ſecreſy. Thoſe that give an ill interpretation to the beſt things, ſay it is not to be ſuppoſed there could be ſent in a dark night, a mule laden with gold to an unknown perſon, but this muſt denote ſomething very extraordinary; and thoſe who pretend to know more than others, are ſometimes more ignorant than thoſe who pretend to know nothing. For who can penetrate into what ſo crafty a miniſter does in the moſt retired places of his cloſet? His actions are ſo myſterious, that when he looks towards the eaſt, his deſigns lie a direct contrary way. He deceives thoſe who watch him moſt narrowly. I cannot inform thee then of any thing certain: The matter is variouſly related; but thus I think it was: The cardinal cauſed, ſome days paſt, to be loaded on a mule, a great ſum of money; he ordered him to whom he entruſted the conduct of him, to go into a wood at ſuch an hour, telling him he ſhould find a man of ſuch a ſtature, ſuch a coloured hair, and in ſuch a habit, who was to ſay certain words to him; whereupon he was to deliver the mule with his lading into his cuſtody. It is ſaid this perſon found the party deſcribed, who would not receive the preſent, it being not the full ſum agreed

upon; that this being related to the cardinal, he ſent the ſame perſon with the ſupplement of what was wanting to the ſum promiſed, the night following, where the unknown perſon received the full payment. If this ſtory be true, as it is affirmed here to be, this is an odd kind of way of making preſents or paying debts.

But thou mayeſt be aſſured, this is not the firſt time the cardinal has paid his creditors in this ſort.

I have been told for certain, that there being arrived at Paris a ſtranger ill clad, of ſmall ſtature, and without any attendance, he made him be paid down immediately upon his arrival ſix hundred thouſand crowns, without any body's knowing what became of ſo happy a creditor, nor from what merit proceeded ſo high a recompenſe; though ſome people affirm, that ſo great a ſum is fallen into the coffers of the Swediſh general.

Receive charitably the marks I give thee of my obedience and deſire which I have of giving thee ſatisfaction, and entreat our great Prophet, that I may be worthy in the other world to kiſs thy feet, and be acknowledged to be of the number of thoſe for whom he has written his holy Alcoran.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XXIV.—*To* Berber Mustapha, *Aga at Conſtantinople.*

I cannot tell whether thou haſt knowledge of the uſe of defiances which are made amongſt the Chriſtians when they are diſſatisfied or offended with one another, which they term acts of honour, or the marks of a gallant ſpirit.

This cuſtom of duels is become ſo common in Italy, and eſpecially in the kingdom of Naples, that the greateſt

affairs, as well as the ſmalleſt, are therein decided by the ſword; and the gentry affirm this to be the beſt way of terminating their diſputes and quarrels; which belonging only to them, cannot be referred, nor ſo well determined by the grave and cool proceedings of courts of juſtice.

This invention of deciding theſe differences by arms, either with the ſword or piſtol alone, in a cloſe or open field, naked in their ſhirts, ſo that one has no treachery to fear, is a way of drawing ſatisfaction for the injuries received, found out by men of great courage, who more eſteem their honour than their lives. The offended perſon ſends a challenge to him from whom he has received the injury; this note of defiance is expreſſed in choice and elegant words which invite and preſs the offender to fight, in ſuch a place, on horſeback or on foot, clothed, or in their ſhirts, ſingle, or attended by an equal number of friends, which they call ſeconds, with ſword and dagger, or ſword alone, or piſtol. If the challenge be received, he is civilly treated who brings it, and it may be, has rich preſents given him. But before they fight, the enemies embrace as if they were reconciled; and then in an inſtant, following the inclinations of their hatred and revenge, they wound one another, they ſpill each other's blood, and oftentimes their ſouls go out furious, through the wounds they have made.

Thoſe that have the honour of dying in theſe combats do oft refuſe their lives, which a generous enemy would give them, believing they cannot live without ſhame, ſhould they receive them from an enemy.

But the Roman church, as a note of the horror ſhe conceives at theſe combats, ſhuts heaven's doors againſt the ſouls of thoſe who leave this life without doing penance, denying burial to thoſe who die in the field of battle, or yield them only that which is granted in ſome

parts of the Eaſt Indies, to certain women who proſtitute themſelves, whoſe corps are thrown a prey to the birds of the field, and other animals who live on carrion.

It is not only in Italy people kill one another in ſingle combats; it is the ſame in France amongſt the nobility, who manage theſe combats in a different ſort. The beſt friends tear one another on the ſmalleſt occaſion, and they prepare for a duel in ſuch a manner, as will appear to thee without doubt ridiculous.

Theſe enemies ſup together the night before the combat, and often lie together in the ſame bed. The friends which ſerve as ſeconds do the ſame; and when they are come to the place where they be to fight, a friend is forced, by the maxims of honour, to cut his own throat with the man's he perhaps moſt loves: Nothing happens more frequently in Paris than this kind of combats; and they produce ſeveral adventures, of which I would give thee an account, had not I a particular ſtory to tell thee on this ſubject. It is of a challenge of a Spaniſh prince, ſent to a king, whoſe crown could not exempt him from a letter of defiance.

Thou haſt, without doubt, heard of what has happened in Liſbon, where Don John de Braganza has been elected and proclaimed King of Portugal, as the true heir of the royal race. Thou knoweſt alſo, he drove the Spaniards out of his kingdom. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, a grandee of Spain, and this new king's brother-in-law, could not hinder himſelf from being ſuſpected of having underhand aſſiſted this prince to aſcend the throne; whether it be true, or an artifice of his enemies, God only knows: But however, it is certain, that the Count Duke d'Olivarez, the King of Spain's chief miniſter, ſent an order to him to appear at court, to juſtify himſelf from this ſuſpicion; he thought to clear himſelf perfectly from the

jealouſies of the Catholic King, by ſending a challenge to Don John of Braganza to oblige him to fight with him; which letter of defiance was conceived in theſe terms:

"D. Gaſpar Alonzo Peres Guſman the Good, Duke of the town of Medina Sidonia, marquis, count, and lord of the town of St. Lucar of Barameda, captain general of the ocean, and gentleman of his Catholic Majeſty's chamber: I ſay, that John of Braganza, who was never but a duke, calls himſelf King of Portugal; that his treaſon, known to all the world, is deteſtable, and in abomination, for having thrown a ſtain on the faithful houſe of Guſman, which has never failed in any duty to her ſovereign; and for this reaſon I defy and challenge to a ſingle combat, body to body, with ſeconds or without ſeconds, this Don John, heretofore Duke of Braganza, leaving all this to his choice, as alſo the arms or weapons, and place of combat. Written near Valencia d'Alcantara, where I ſhall expect fourſcore days news of him; and the laſt twenty days I ſhall tranſport myſelf into the place he ſhall appoint, accompanied, or alone, with ſuch arms as he ſhall preſcribe.

"Not only the tyrant of Portugal ſhall be advertiſed of my challenge, but all Europe and the whole world. I pretend to make known in this combat the infamous action of Don John; and in caſe he does not accept of this defiance, and fails in the duty of one who is born a gentleman, I deſire this king, who is only a phantaſm, may periſh in ſome ſort or other: I promiſe to give my town of St. Lucar, the principal ſeat of the Duke of Medina, to him that ſhall kill him.

"In the mean time, I entreat my lord, the King of Spain, to give me no command in his armies, but to grant I may only ſerve him as a volunteer, with a thouſand horſe, which I will maintain at my own charge, till

that ſerving him in this manner I may help to recover the kingdom of Portugal, and may bring along with me, and caſt at his Majeſty's feet, the Duke of Braganza, if he will not fight with me in the manner I propoſed."

If thou ſhoweſt this letter of defiance to the janizaries, that militia, which is terrible to all nations, whom nothing can reſiſt, when they execute the Grand Signior's orders, they will tell thee what ſuch a challenge requires from men of courage, and explain to thee the laws which people of valour preſcribe to themſelves. For my part, who am ignorant of the art of war, and the maxims of ſuch as make profeſſion of arms, I ſhall not make any judgment hereupon, only take the liberty to aſk of thee, if the King of Portugal accepted the combat and killed the Duke of Medina, which of the two would have been declared infamous? Whether there be any certainty in the deciſions made by arms? I am willing to think juſtice is on the ſide of the conqueror; but if, on the contrary, the event of the duel be uncertain, I take it to be a fooliſh thing for the duke to expoſe himſelf, and thus affront the king his brother-in-law. In ſhort the duke's prudence is not to be admired on this occaſion; and Braganza has had the advantage on his ſide, ſeeing he has ſhowed by his conduct, that he is effectually King of Portugal.

I cannot but call theſe Chriſtians fools who ſuffer ſuch cuſtoms amongſt them, and yet adore a Meſſias, who is a God of Peace; and who call us Barbarians, when they are the only people that teach us, and all other nations, the art of ſingle combats, which is the moſt pernicious cuſtom that can be introduced amongſt men, who cut one another's throats oftentimes on ſlight occaſions, and become prodigals of that treaſure with which the Im-

mortal has entruſted them. Neither can I any more approve of kings and princes of the ſame belief making war with one another, as we ſee every day amongſt thoſe who profeſs the Chriſtian religion; which yet, as far as I can find, ſcarcely permits any wars, but ſuch as are defenſive.

Pardon this tedious letter, excuſe my conjectures in it, and honour me with thy commands, which will be reſpected by me as ſo many obligations.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XXV.—*To the Invincible* VISIER AZEM, *at Conſtantinople.*

WE hear of nothing now-a-days but wars and conſpiracies, ſeditions, treaſons, infidelities, and revolutions of ſtate; and it is in the kingdoms of Vice wherein theſe plagues of Heaven make theſe diſorders, I mean in the Chriſtians countries. Infidelity reigns amongſt the people of Catalonia, England and Portugal; the revolutions which have happened in Barcelona have no example; the defiance or the challenge of a ſubject to a king, as is that of the Duke of Sidonia to the King of Portugal, as his brother-in-law and his enemy, does equally ſurpriſe all the world. We have reaſon to think that God is angry with the Chriſtians, when we conſider Flanders, Germany, Italy, and the frontiers of Spain, peſtered with wars which they make one againſt another. The animoſity of moſt of the great people of France againſt the cardinal favourite, induces them to lay plots againſt his life; whence we may ſee, that great places are good for nothing but to expoſe men to great dangers. The laſt conſpiracy diſcovered againſt the life of Don John IV. of Portugal, raiſed to the throne by the nobility, and

betrayed by the ſame nobility, not by the whole body of them, but by a ſmall number of thoſe who had taken an oath of fidelity to him as well as the reſt, does plainly ſhow, that there is nothing in this world whereon a man may rely with any certainty, and that here are many people who undertake juſt actions by the motions of an unjuſt and turbulent ſpirit, which cannot ſuffer things to remain long in a quiet ſtate, and aſpire continually after change, and to whom every thing is good that is new. I ſhall relate to thee in few words this laſt event. Thou haſt been informed of the others by the letters I have written to thee (invincible General of the Ottoman armies, and ſteward of the emperor's laws, who is ſovereign of ſovereigns), and by thoſe which the Kaimacham and the Baſſa's have received from me, who are obliged to give thee an account of whatever comes to their knowledge.

Several of the great ones in Portugal, and amongſt them ſome of the new king's kindred, hatched a conſpiracy againſt him, and reſolved to put the kingdom again into the Spaniards hands, and entirely ruin the family of Braganza. The principal author of this conſpiracy was Don Sebaſtian de Mattos, Archbiſhop of Brague, the Count Duke d'Olivarez's creature, to whom he owed his fortune. The chiefs who conſpired with this ſeditious prieſt, were the Marquis de Ville Reale, and the Count d'Armamar. Theſe two men, of great birth and credit, ſoon drew ſeveral others into their party, ſome by the hope of recompenſes, and others through wearineſs of obeying their new ſovereign, or weary with the new form of ſtate, which they thought might change to their advantage. They long held a ſecret intelligence with the Catholic King's council, who promiſed them all poſſible

aſſiſtance for the execution of their deſign, and after that infinite recompenſes.

This conſpiracy was to produce a dreadful tragedy, wherein all the blood of the royal houſe and family of Braganza was to be ſpilt. The king was to be the firſt victim, with his children and the queen his wife. D. Duarte alſo was to be put to death, who was kept cloſe priſoner in the caſtle of Milan. A domeſtic, affectionate to his maſter, and who was attentive to what paſt, delivered the king and family of Braganza out of this danger. He was ordinarily employed in ſecret intrigues, and made frequent courſes into Spain, to diſcover the deſigns of the Court of Madrid. He met by chance in an inn, a man who ſeemed of a mean condition, born in the kingdom of Bohemia, with whom having entered into a ſtrict friendſhip, as it happens uſually among travellers, he came to diſcover he was often diſpatched by the Catholic king's principal miniſter on affairs of great weight; and that he expected in a ſhort time to raiſe his fortune to a conſiderable pitch, being entruſted with packets of letters containing things of the higheſt importance to the ſtate. The crafty Portugueſe ſoon diſcerning he might get out ſecrets of great concernment from this imprudent man, for the good of his maſter, reſolved to kill him in a deſart place, where they were to paſs; which he did, having firſt made him drunk with ſtrong wine. As ſoon as he had done his work, he ſtript him, and found letters and inſtructions to the conſpirators, which he ſpeedily carried to Don John, who thereby diſcovered the whole conſpiracy.

Others ſay, that D. Alphonſo of Portugal, Count de Vermiſſa (having been ſolicited by the Archbiſhop of Bragne, who thought he could eaſily bring him into the conſpiracy, being diſcontented at the king for taking a-

way from him a great office), went to his ſovereign, and freely diſcovered to him the conſpiracy which had been made, to deprive him both of his crown and life. And, it is added, that this Count appeared ſince one of the hotteſt of the accomplices, till the very inſtant wherein they were to execute their project; at which time they were apprehended and puniſhed as they deſerved.

Others ſay, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the king's brother-in-law, who appeared to the accomplices to be of the plot, gave notice of it to the king his brother. In fine, the conſpirators were executed in ſeveral places after different manners, where the people aſſembled, deteſting their crime, ſhowing great ſatisfaction in their deaths, and bleſt Heaven for preſerving their ſovereign.

They were apprehended one day, wherein the king declared he would appear in public; and all the nobility being met, he cauſed the guilty to be called one after another, who were all made priſoners without any diſturbance. In the mean time, as many troops as were near Liſbon were in arms; and the people alſo took arms to defend their prince, if need required. The inquiſitor-general was treated as guilty, for knowing of the conſpiracy and not diſcovering it. The great treaſurer, Lawrence Pides, who kept the keys of the firſt court of the palace, was to enter in the night with an hundred men well armed, and begin the tragedy. The naval army which rode at anchor in the port of Beleem, was to be burnt; and there were them in each veſſel, who were to ſet them on fire. The four corners of the city were alſo to be fired, to the end that the people, the ſoldiers and guards of the palace, being buſied in putting it out, nothing might hinder the execution of their deſign; and the good archbiſhop was in the mean time to appear in public, bearing about in his hand what they call the holy

ſacrament, crying with a loud voice, "Let the law of Jeſus flouriſh, and that of Moſes die and come to an end."

The Marquis de Ville Reale, and the Duke de Camine his ſon, near of kin to the king, have loſt their heads on a ſcaffold, with the Count d'Armamar and Don Auguſtin Manuel; and the people beheld their death without any compaſſion, only ſhowed ſome regret at the loſs of the young Duke of Camine, who paſſing before the body of his father all bloody, threw himſelf on the ground to kiſs his feet, aſking him a thouſand times pardon, though he was the author of this misfortune. There were others who ſuffered a more ignominious death, who were not only hanged but quartered, and thoſe parts of their bodies ſet up in ſeveral places for an example, and to put the people in mind that ſuch attempts ſeldom eſcape unpuniſhed.

As to the Archbiſhop of Brague, and other eccleſiaſtics his accomplices, they are kept with great care in priſons, in expectation of commiſſioners from Rome, without which prelate's conſent they can do nothing farther to them. The king wore mourning four hours for the Marquis de Ville Reale, and the Duke de Camine his ſon, according to the cuſtom of the Chriſtians, who are wont to apparel themſelves in black for the death of their kindred, to denote the ſorrow they conceive at their loſs; and this ceremony is termed mourning, which ſometimes laſts a whole year. I will write to thee the particulars of what may happen in the war which is now carrying on between the Spaniards and Portugueſes, who perceive already on their frontiers Caſtilian troops; and ſhall not be wanting in any thing which may mark my zeal and exactneſs.

An happy ſlave will Mahmut think himſelf if he can acceptably ſerve the invincible viſier, by whom the great emperor of the faithful diſcovers his will to all the people of the univerſe, whom God has created to obey him.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

END OF VOLUME FIRST

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